

THE
L I F E
O F
OLIVER CROMWELL,
Lord-Protector
OF THE
Commonwealth
O F
England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The FIFTH EDITION.

By M. MORGAN, Gent. 

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THE HISTORY OF GOLIATH.

THE

P R E F A C E.

T being a natural curiosity in men, to know the characters of such as have render'd themselves famous by uncommon exploits, we judge a regular and just account of the actions, and surprising management of this extraordinary man, could not be unacceptable to the public.

The lives that have been hitherto written of this great man, are manifestly faulty in many respects. The foreign ones are rather romances than histories, being fill'd with such intrigues, adventures, and actions, as our English writers speak not one word of. As to those in our own language, they are either such as discover the most servile flattery or bitterest rancor, or are wrote in an odd sort of ludicrous stile; and all of them are exceedingly defective, wholly omitting several very remarkable transactions and occurrences, and very imperfectly describing many others. All these faults are carefully avoided in the following sheets, where I have endeavour'd to be as plain and intelligible as possible, and to omit no ma-

iv. *The R R E F A C E.*

perial fact or curious story I could find supported by any good authorities. Where our own and foreign writers disagree in relating the circumstances of a fact, I have followed the former, supposing them to be the best informed; and when any of our own historians differ, I usually take notice of such difference, that nothing may be related with a greater appearance of certainty, than in proportion to the real evidence it has to support it.



THE



THE
L I F E
O F
OLIVER CROMWELL

P A R T I.

Containing an Account of his life and actions, to the time of the KING's death.

C H A P. I.

Some account of him till the breaking out of the War between the King and Parliament.



O Liver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599. His father was Mr. Robert Cromwell, second son of Sir Henry Cromwell, and brother of Sir Oliver, who at his house at Hitchinbrook, made the noblest entertainment for king James I. at his accession

sion to the English crown, that had ever been offer'd by a private subject. Sir Oliver had a very good estate ; but our Oliver's father being a younger brother, had not above 300 l. per annum.

The name of this family was not originally Cromwell, but Williams. Morgan Williams, son and heir of William, of a very antient family in Wales, married the sister of the famous Thomas lord Cromwell, who was made earl of Essex by Henry VIII. By her he had a son named Richard, who when he grew up was knighted by king Henry, and took the name of his uncle Cromwell, tho' he kept the arms of Williams. He married Frances, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Murfyn; and upon the dissolution of the monasteries, obtained all those lands in Huntingtonshire, which belong'd to any of them in that county, which amounted to a prodigious value; and this was the first settling of this family in that county. Of this Sir Richard Cromwell, we have the following account: That on the 1st of May, 1540, there was held a solemn triumph at Westminster before king Henry VIII. by Sir John Dudley, Sir Richard Cromwell, and four other challengers; which was proclaim'd in France, Scotland, and in Flanders: That on the second day at tournaments, Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew

Mr.

Mr. Palmer off his horse; and at the fifth day at barryers, he likewise overthrew Mr. Cuspey, to his and the challengers great honour. He had a son, Sir Henry Cromwell (our protector's grandfather) who was knighted by queen Elizabeth in the 6th year of her reign. This Sir Henry married Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Ralph Warren, and made his chief seat upon the ruins of a house of nuns at Hinchinbrook. He was a very worty gentleman, and was highly honour'd and be'ov'd both in court and country; he had six sons; Oliver (already mentioned) Robert, Henry, Richard, Philip, and Ralph. The second son, Mr. Robert Cromwell, who was a gentleman of very good reputation in his country, and was no less esteemed than any of his ancestors for his personal worth, married the daughter of Sir Richard Steward, and by her had the famous Oliver, the subject of the ensuing history.

Though Mr. Robert Cromwell had but a small estate, yet he took great care of his son's education, sending him, when grown up, to the university of Cambridge, where he was a student in Sidney college, though 'twas observed, that he was not so much inclined to speculation as to action. Whilst he was here his father died, upon which he return'd home, and led an extravagant kind of

of life, addicting himself to such follies as young persons are too apt to fall into; so that his mother was advis'd to send him up to Lincoln's Inn, where he betook himself to the study of the law: But not liking that sedentary employment, he soon returned again into the country, and followed his former vicious courses, to the wasting of great part of his paternal estate. At length he became greatly reformed, and grew mighty sober and religious; and having an estate of four or five hundred pounds per annum, left him by Sir Robert Steward, his uncle by his mother's side, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Boucher.

After his reformation, he adhered for some time to the church of England, very devoutly attending on the publick service; but at length falling into the hands of some Puritans, he became a zealous friend to that party, frequently entertaining their ministers at his house. After this time he is said to have been so scrupulously just, that having some years before won thirty pounds of one Mr. Calton at play. he now paid it him back again, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that it would be a sin in him to keep it any longer,

We hear nothing of his acting in a publick capacity till the year 1628, when he was one of the committee of religion in king

king Charles's third parliament, and gave information to the house, that the bishop of Winchester screen'd some who preached downright popery, and that 'twas by his means that Dr. Manwaring was promoted to a rich living; concluding, ' If these be steps to church preferment, what are we shortly to expect?

The power of archbishop Laud growing grievous to the Puritans, he being very severe in his proceedings against them, many of them began to think of taking refuge in foreign plantations; and such numbers of families actually transported themselves, that the government at length taking umbrage at it, published a proclamation, to restrain the disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in America, without a royal licence. Mr. Oliver Cromwell together with Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Hasle-rigg, Mr. John Hampden, and several other gentlemen, were preparing to remove themselves, and were actually embark'd for that purpose; but were prevented by the said proclamation, and the following order of council, ' That the lord treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships now in the river of Thames prepar'd to go for New England, and should likewise

No. 2. B give

give order for the putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein intended for the voyage.' And thus Mr. Cromwell's, voyage to New England was prevented.

About the year 1638, the king and some lords became undertakers for draining the fen-lands in Lincolnshire, and the isle of Ely. This project was oppos'd by several, chiefly by the town of Cambridge, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell boldly headed this party against the undertakers for draining the fens. By this means, and by promising his farther assistance in their behalf, he got to be elected burgess for the town of Cambridge in 1640, to serve in that parliament which was afterwards called the Long Parliament.

In this parliament he soon shew'd himself a zealous and forward opposer of grievances in religion; and 'tis said, that one time when Sir Thomas Chichely and Mr. Warwick were talking with him in the house about the affair of religion, he said,
• I can tell you, Sirs, what I would not have,
• tho' I cannot tell what I wou'd.

He was a great promoter of the commons grand remonstrance of all the grievances in the nation from the king's accession to that time, which was presented to his majesty at his return from Scotland, soon after the Irish rebellion and massacre, in which above

150000 Protestants, men, women, and children, were barbarously murdered by the Papists. A day having been appointed for retaking this remonstrance into the consideration of the house, upon its not being call'd for till noon that day, 'twas urg'd and consented to, that it should be deferr'd till the next morning; upon which occasion Mr. Cromwell ask'd the lord Falkland, Why he was for deferring it, since that day wou'd soon have determin'd it? Who answer'd, There would be time enough, for sure, it would take some debate; to which the other reply'd, A very sorry one, concluding it would be opposed but by few: But the debate being enter'd upon about nine the next morning, continu'd all that day and the night following till three in the morning, when it was carried for the remonstrance by nine voices only. And when the house broke up, the lord Falkland ask'd Mr. Cromwell, concerning the debate? Who answer'd, He would take his word another time; and whispering him in the ear, solemnly assur'd him, That if the remonstrance had not pass'd, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew many other honest men of the same resolution,

The difference between the king and parliament (occasion'd by evil counsels on
one

one hand, and continual jealousies and fears on the other) was now grown to such a height, that soon after the presenting this remonstrance, it broke out into an open war between them ; of which, so far as concerns our present purpose, we shall give some account in the following chapters.



CHAP. II.

*From the breaking out of the civil war, to
the battle of Marston-Moor.*

AT the breaking out of the war, Mr. Cromwell was commissioned by the parliament, to be captain of a troop of horse, which he speedily rais'd in his own country. In listing them, he had regard to such only as he thought to be stout and resolute ; and having compleated his troop he us'd this art to prove them : Upon their first muster, near some of the king's garrison, he privily plac'd twelve of them in an ambuscade, who with a trumpet sounding a charge, made furiously towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy, presently fled for fear, whom Cromwell immediately cashier'd, and mounted.

ed their horses with such as were more bold and courageous.

The university of Cambridge being not far off him, he very seasonably secured it for the parliament, when a great quantity of the college plate was just upon the point of being conveyed to the king at Oxford. And so active and industrious was he, that when Sir Thomas Connesby, high sheriff of Hertfordshire, was going to proclaim the earl of Essex, the parliament's general, and all his adherents traytors, at St. Albans, on a market day, he rushed unawares into the town with a party of horse, surpriz'd the sheriff and his assistants, and sent them prisoners to London, to the no small satisfaction of the parliament, who gave him the thanks of the house, from this time looking upon him as a very promising person for their service.

In the year 1643, he was advanced to the degree of a colonel, and by his own management raised a regiment of a thousand horse, with which he rang'd about, and with great industry obstructed many levies for the king in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and particularly defeated the project of a counter association for the king's service, contriv'd by Sir John Pettus, Sir Edward Barker, and other gentlemen, at the town of Lestoff in Suffolk, with great secre-

sy

fy and celerity entering the town and surprizing them all. Here he also gained good store of ammunition, saddles, pistols, powder, shot, and several engines of war, sufficient to have serv'd a considerable force. And he surpriz'd those gentlemen in the very nick of time; for as many more, who were before listed, design'd the very next day to have met at the same place, and if their design had succeeded, the whole country had been in great danger of being lost. So that this action of Cromwell's was a very seasonable service to the parliament, and prov'd a great discouragement to all the king's party, both in Suffolk and Norfolk.

After this he was sent to guard some ammunition from Warwick to Gloucester, and by the way took Hilsden house, and in it Sir Alexander Denton the owner, colonel Smith, many inferior officers, about a hundred horse, thirteen barre's of powder, and about a hundred and fifty common soldiers, besides forty slain; then he gave an alarm to Oxford, and so went on to Gloucester.

He was now made lieutenant general to the earl of Manchester; and having rais'd a greater force of such as came freely in to him, he march'd towards Lincolnshire, with a resolution to assist those forces which lay about Newark, one of the strongest garrisons then held for the king. In his march
thro'

thro' Huntingdonshire, he disarmed many who were ill affected to the parliament. He was now above two thousand strong, and received an addition of horse from captain Hotcham. At his first approach before Newark he perform'd a good piece of service: for captain Wray with his Lincolnshire horse too rashly quartering near the town, was in the night set upon by the garrison, which made a great sally, and surrounded and took all his men. But the alarm coming to Cromwell, he advanced, and at ten o'clock at night fell upon the Newarkers, rescued captain Wray's troop, and took three of theirs, with the slaughter of many of them, after this, setting down before the town, he took many men and colours at several times; and soon after meeting with twenty four troops of the king's horse and dragoons near Grantham, he encounter'd them with such fury and resolution, that tho' he had but seven troops with him, he entirely routed them.

The earl of Newcastle being inform'd that the lord Willoughby of Parham had got possession of the town of Gainsborough for the parliament, sent his brother colonel Cavendish, Lieutenant general of his army, with a great party of horse and dragoons to summon it, himself marching after with the foot, upon this Cromwell resolv'd to attempt the

the relief of that place, and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them, but through a gate and up hill; notwithstanding which disadvantage, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after some dispute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their officers, and among them lieutenant-general Cavendish.

Of this action Cromwell himself gives the following account, in a letter dated July 3¹.

I march'd after the taking of Burleigh, to Grantham, and was join'd by the Lincolners at North Scales, ten miles from Gainsborough. About a mile and a half from the town, we met the forlorn of the enemy, who drove a troop of our dragoons back to their main body. We advanc'd and came to the bottom of a steep hill, which we could not well get up but by some tracts; and the body of the enemy endeavour'd to hinder us, but we prevail'd and gain'd the top of it. This was done by the Lincolners, who had the van-guard. A great body of the enemy's horse faced us there, at about a musquet shot distance, and a good reserve of a full regiment of horse behind it. We did

did what we could to put our men in good order, and the enemy advanced towards us to prevent it, and take us at a disadvantage; but in such order as we were, we charged their great body, I having the right wing. We came up horse to horse, where we disputed a pretty while with our swords and pistols, all keeping clo'e order, so that one could not break the other. At last the enemy shrinking a little, our men soon perceiv'd it, pressed in upon them, and routed their whole body, some flying on one side, and others on the other, of the enemy's reserve. Our men pursu'd them with good execution about six miles. I perceiving the reserve still unbroken, kept back my major Whalley from the pursuit, and with my own troop, and two troops more of my regiment, we got into a body. In this reserve was general Cavendish, who one while faced me, another while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which were all ours that engaged the reserve, the rest being in pursuit of those who fled. General Cavendish charged the Lincolneers and routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which did so astonish him, that he gave over the chase, and would have deliver'd himself from me; but I pressing on, forced him down a hill, and below it drove the general and some of his soldiers into a quagmire, where my

Captain-lieutenant slew him with a thrust under his short ribs. The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man staying on the place.

Here Whitelock says, ‘ This was the beginning of his (viz. Cromwell’s) great fortunes, and now he began to appear to the world. He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and treeholders sons, who upon matter of conscience engag’d in this quarrel under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without, by good iron arms, they would as one man, stand firmly, and charge desperately.’ Cromwell’s policy was very much seen in making choice of such men as these, who had a persuasion they were engag’d in the cause of God, to serve under him against the king’s party.

Thus was Gainsborough reliev’d ; but the victors had but a short time of rejoicing, for within two or three hours, the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle’s army, march’d against them ; whereupon they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing the enemy with three troops at a time, whilst they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, Cromwell march’d the next day to Boston, to join the earl of Manchester

ster, who with his new rais'd forces had very seasonably reduced Lynn under the power of the Parliament.

To prevent any farther addition to Manchester's forces, the earl of Newcastle advanc'd with his Army, and detach'd a strong party of horse and dragoons towards Boston, appearing by their Standards, to be eighty seven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderson an old soldier, who understanding that Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse and dragoons, made haste to engage him, before the earl of Manchester, with the foot, could march up; as accordingly it happen'd at a place call'd Winds-by-field, near Horn-castle. In the first shock Cromwell's horse was killed and fell upon him, and as he rose, he was again knock'd down by the gentleman that charged him, suppos'd to be Sir Ingram Hopton, though others say captain Portington, who afterwards plainly told him, That he aim'd at his nose when he hit his Horse on the head. He never was in more danger in his life; but with difficulty he got remounted upon a poor horse in a soldier's hand, and charg'd the enemy with great resolution. The encounter was very sharp, but lasted not an hour before the royalists were entirely rout-ed by Manchester's troops, about 1500 of them being kill'd, amongst whom was the lord

lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other persons of quality. Very few were killed on the parliament side. The routed forces were pursued by the parliamentarians almost as far as Lincoln; in which pursuit several of them were killed and taken prisoners, and many horses and arms taken. In pursuance of this victory, the earl of Manchester marched directly to Lincoln, sat down before it, and summon'd it, and afterwards thok it by storm, with very inconsiderable loss.

After this, the earl, with his lieutenant-general Cromwell, advanced to re-inforce the siege of York, which was then invested by the Scotch general Leven, and the lord Fairfax. Soon after, prince Rupert arriving with about eighteen thousand men, caused the besiegers to raise the siege; who joining their forces, resolved to watch his motions, and to fight him if they found occasion: But a little to refresh themselves, and furnish themselves with provisions which they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaster.

The prince elevated with success, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the city, if he did not defeat the enemy, contrary to the advice of those that were with him, he march'd after them, and finding them at Marston-Moor, forc'd them to a battle; in which

which the left wing of his army, commanded by himself, charging the parliament's right, so totally routed them, that the three parliament generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester quitted the field, and fled towards Cawood castle. Here the prince pursued his enemies too far, which lost him the day.

The three generals being thus beaten out of the field, the honour of the day fell to Cromwell; for the left wing of the parliament's army, commanded by the earl of Newcastle, who had gain'd an advantageous piece of ground upon Marston-Moor, and caused a battery to be erected upon it, from captain Walton, Cromwell's sister's son, was wounded by a shot in the knee: Hereupon Cromwell order'd two field-pieces to be brought for annoying the enemy, appointing two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching for that end, were set upon by the foot of the prince's right wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both sides seconding their foot, were wholly engag'd, who before had only stood facing one another. The horse on each side fought with the utmost bravery and courage; for having discharg'd their pistols, and flung them at each other's heads, they fell to it with their swords; but after a very obstinate dispute, the victory was obtain'd by Cromwell's

Cromwell's brigade, prince Rupert's right wing being totally routed and flying, and the parliament's horse, pursuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the left wing of the prince's army, who had been victors, came back to their former ground, being confident of victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charg'd and entirely routed by the reserves of Cromwell's brigade.

Other accounts are given of this battle, but all agree in ascribing to Cromwell the glory of the action. Some say he was wounded in the right arm at the first charge, and went off to have it dressed; and returning to his post, found the army in that disorder as is above related. Any other man, says F. Orleans, would have run with the stream, and followed such examples, as he need not blush at, to seek his safety by flight. Cromwell rather chose to shew what good sense could do, when seconded by valour. He presently perceived that the conquerors were in as much confusion as the conquered, those who pursued observing no more order than those that fled; but that there were some brigades of his army that stood firm, and had not as yet been engaged. He made no scruple to put himself at their head, and charging with these fresh troops, whom his own prowess

prowess inspired with new courage, he so vigorously attack'd the enemy, whom victory had made careless of keeping their ranks, that this unexpected turn chang'd the scene at once and entirely broke them.

Of the king's forces above four thousand were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tilleyard with about a hundred officers more. All the artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell also into the parliamentarians hands; the prince's own standard, with the arms of the palatinate, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Of the parliamentarians not above three hundred were slain. This famous battle was fought on the second day of July. Cromwell was greatly cried up for his bravery and conduct, and gain'd the name of Ironsides from the impenetrable strength of his troops, which could by no mens be broken or divided. Prince Rupert and his confederates being thus defeated, they quarrel'd among themselves, one reproaching the other for this miscarriage; whereupon the earl of Newcastle, and others of quality, departed out of the kingdom. The siege of York was now renewed, which city despairing of fresh succors, was soon surrendered to the parliament

ment by Sir Thomas Glemham, who had been left sole governor of it.



C H A P. III.

From the battle of Marston-Moor to the battle of Naseby.

CROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, some admiring, and others envying his great success, and dreading his aspiring temper and enterprising genius. The lord general Essex and the Scotch commissioners were particularly jealous of him, so that they were once in consultation, together with Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, how to get rid of him, and sent to serjeant Maynard and Whitelock about it; who being come, the earl of Essex told them, that he had sent for them to have their advice and counsel upon a matter of great importance to both kingdoms; whereupon, at his desire, the chancellor, of Scotland spake to them, in the Scotch dialect, as follows:

Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Whitelock. I can assure you of the great opinion, both my brethren

brethren and self have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have desir'd this meeting with you: And since it is his excellency's pleasure, that I should acquaint you with the matter upon which your coun-sel is desir'd, I shall obey his command, and briefly recite the business to you.

You ken vary weeke, that lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours; and since the advance of our army into England, he has used all under-hand and cunning means to tak off from our honour, and merit of this kingdom, an evil requital of our hazards and services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfyed of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of the nation in general.

It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora be removed out of the way, whom we foresee will be no small impediment to us in the gude design we have undertaken.

He not only is no friend to us and the government of our church, bat he is also no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we have all cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of this mischievous

You ken vary weeble the accord betwixt the twa nations, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant; and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the inatter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of the word incendiary to be, and whether the lieutenant-general be not sick an incendiary, as is meant thereby; and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved sick an incendiary, that we may clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.

Now you may ken, that by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention, and raifeth differences in the state, to the publick damage; and he is tanquam publicus hostis patriæ. Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we desire your judgments in these points.

To this Mr. Whitelock answer'd, "that the sense of the word incendiary, was the same here as in Scotland; but whether lieutenant-general Cromwell be such an incendiary must be proved, either by his words or actions: That he looked upon him to be a gentleman of quick and subtile parts, and who had great interest in both houses of parliament.

parliament, and that it would be needful to collect such particular passages concerning him, as might be sufficient to prove him an incendiary, before they could expect the parliament should proceed against him." Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and some others, gave an account of some particular passages and words of Cromwell's, and said, that he had not that interest in the parliament as was supposed; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him; but the Scotch commissioners were not so ready to join with them in it, and so the lieutenant-general escaped.

Cromwell was now also very much dreaded by the king's party. His Majesty being at Oxford, was willing to have the particular advice of that known Statesman archbishop Williams; and so wrote to him at Aberconway, in Wales to come to him. The archbishop accordingly waiting on the king, advised him by all means to come to an agreement with the parliament; for since the Scots were come into England in such numerous armies, and the English of the Parliament's party, in these two last years, had acquir'd a military knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the king long to resist their forces. But above all, he warned him, to have a care of Cromwell, declaring him to be the most dan-

gerous enemy the king had ; and therefore humbly moved, that either he win him over to his side by promises of fair treatment, or catch him by some stratagem, and cut him short. This is said to have made such an impression on the king that he was heard to say, I would some would do me the good service to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead.

About four months after the fight at Marston-moor, happen'd the second battle of Newbury, where Cromwell is said to have endanger'd the king's person, had not the earl of Cleveland interpos'd, and bore off the pursuit. This battle was the occasion of an irreconcilable breach between him and the earl of Manchester. Cromwell accus'd the earl of cowardly betraying the parliament, for that he might very easily have defeated the king's army, when he drew off his cannon, if he would have suffer'd him with his own brigade to have charg'd them in their retreat ; but that the earl obstinately oppos'd all advise and importunity, giving no other reason, than That if he did overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another to keep up the war ; but if his army should be overthrown at that nice juncture, they, they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law.

This

This last expression was heinously taken by the parliament, as if the earl believ'd the law was against them, after they had so often declar'd, that the law was on their side. The earl acknowledg'd, that he had in effect said, That they would be treated as traitors of their army was defeated, when he dislik'd the lieutenant general's advice, in exposing the army to an unseasonable hazard. And then recriminating upon his adversary, said, that at another time, Cromwell freely discoursing with him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing an expedient, the earl answer'd, that the parliament would never approve it; to which Cromwell immediately reply'd, My lord, if you will stick firm to an honest man, you will find an army at your command, that will give the law to king and parliament: which discourse, he said, made a great impression upon him; and finding him a man of very deep designs, he was the more careful to preserve an army, which he believ'd still faithful to the parliament. These matters were never thoroughly examin'd, tho' the animosities encreas'd, and the parties on both sides openly appear'd against each other, to the dividing of the city, as well as of the parliament.

A mighty party in the parliament began now to be dissatisfy'd with their old generals

rals, thinking them too much inclin'd to a peace with the king, and two great favourers of the Presbyterian party. Hereupon they are for having the army new modell'd; and that their old friends might be the more civilly dismissed from their military posts, they endeavour to procure an ordinance, for incapacitating all members of parliament for such posts. Cromwell was a great promoter of this design, and after some had led the way, made a speech in the house for that purpose, declaring, That there were many things upon which he never reflected before, yet upon re-consideration, he could not but own that all was very true; and till there was a perfect reformation in those particulars recommended to them, nothing they took in hand would prosper: That the parliament had done wisely in the beginning of the war, to engage many of their members in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation might see they design'd not to embark others in perils, whilst themselves sat securely out of gun-shot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened; and those honourable persons, who had thus exposed themselves, had merited so much of their country, that their memories would be held in perpetual veneration; and whatever should be well done after

after them, would be imputed to their example.

But now God had so blessed their army, that there had grown up with it many excellent officers, who were fitter for much greater charges than they now enjoy'd; therefore he desired them not to be terrify'd with an imagination, that they should want able men to fill the greatest vacancy; for besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh, as to think such a cause as this depended upon any one man, he assured them that they had officers in their army, who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in Christendom. He added, 'He thought nothing so necessary as to vindicate the parliament from partiality towards their own members; and proffered to lay down his own commission in the army, and desired, that an ordinance might be prepared, to make it unlawful for any member of either house to hold any office in the army, or any place in the state;' and so concluded with an enlargement upon the vices and corruptions crept into the army, and freely told them, 'That till the whole army were new modell'd, and brought under stricter discipline, they must not expect any remarkable success in any undertaking.' In conclusion, a committee was appointed to

prepare

prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of all members from the fore-mentioned trusts; which took up much time, and was long debated, but in the end pass'd, and was call'd the self-denying ordinance.

Some time before, Cromwell had orders from the house to march with all speed into the west, to join Sir William Waller; which he accordingly did, and being join'd they beat up Goring's quarters, who thereupon fled to Exeter.

It seems there had been some behaviour in Cromwell's regiment, that gave offence to the parliament; for he now sent a letter to the house, informing them, "That since his coming to his regiment, their carriage had been obedient, respective, and valiant; a good testimony whereof they gave in the late defeat of Long's regiment: That they were sorry for their former mutinous carriage, and desired him to send their most humble petition to both houses, That they might again be received into their favour, and their former offence fully pardoned; promising a valiant testimony of their future service:" After this, he marched to Cerne in Dorsetshire, where he was joined by the colonels Holborn and Popham. The enemy coming within three miles of them undiscovered, Cromwell drew into the field there, with design to fight them, tho' superior

to

to him in number ; which they perceiving, drew off , and Cromwell was farther reinforced by the regiments of Norton and Cook, &c.

Upon the passing of the self denying ordinance, the army, which had been much diminished by sickness and a late defeat in the west, was ordered to be recruited to one and twenty thousand men, namely, fourteen thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one thousand dragoons ; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was commission'd general. They who were removed from their commands in the army by this ordinance were the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, the earl of Denbigh, the earl of Warwick, Sir William Waller, lord Gray of Groby, major-general Massy, &c. Cromwell was likewise to have lost his command, and came to Windsor to take leave of the new general ; but such interest had been made in the committee of both kingdoms at Westminster, or they were so sensible of his rare talent for war, that they had sent orders to general Fairfax to detach a party of horse to lie between Oxford and Worcester, for intercepting the correspondence between the king and prince Rupert, and particularly recommended lieutenant-general Cromwell for that service ; who went away with a good party of horse and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the king's horse under the earl of

Northampton and Goring, at Islip-bridge, kill'd several, and took five hundred horse, and two hundred prisoners, whereof several were officers and persons of quality, as also the queen's standard, besides many other trophies of honour.

He pursued the routed remnant of Bletchington-house, where colonel Windebank commanded ; who being summoned by victorious Cromwell, and persuaded by his beautiful young bride and the ladies that came to visit her, surrendered the place, with all the arms and ammunition ; for which he was shot to death at Oxford by sentence of a council of war.

About the same time also, Cromwell forced Sir William Vaughan and lieutenant colonel Littleton, with three hundred of their men prisoners, with their arms, and sent colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horse, three colonels, and forty common soldiers prisoners, with their arms. Being afterwards reinforced by about five hundred foot from colonel Brown's garrison at Abington, Cromwell attempted the reducing of Farringdon-house, and stormed it ; but it was so gallantly defended by Sir George Lisle, that he was forced to draw off, having lost fifty of his men ; and in his retreat he was attacked by a party of lieutenant Goring's horse, lately

lately come from the siege of Taunton, who got from him three colours, and took major Bethel prisoner.

It was now ordered by both houses, that lieutenant-general Cromwell should be dispensed with for his personal attendance in the house, and continue his service and command in the army, for forty days longer, notwithstanding the late ordinance. This, says Whitelock, was much spoken against by Essex's party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue to whom they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former self-denying pretences.

The lord-general Fairfax began his march in order to relieve Taunton. But the committee of both kingdoms, understanding that prince Rupert was advancing towards Oxford, ordered him to stop his march, and to send only a party of about three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse to Taunton, whilst he, with the rest of his army, marched back to join Cromwell and Brown, that they might attend the king's motions with their united forces. The king being joined by prince Rupert, marched into Worcestershire, and designed to relieve Chester, which had been a great while besieged by the parliament's forces under sir William

Brereton; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of Chester, raised the siege, and returned into Lancashire. Upon this, the king diverted his course towards Leicester, and coming before the place, took it by storm.

In the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms, that general Fairfax should invest Oxford, and laid siege to it, having his own quarters at Marston, Cromwell at Wileham, and Brown at Wolvercote. After fifteen days spent without action, the parliament being startled at the loss of Leicester, sent express orders to Fairfax to march away; which he accordingly did on the ninth of June.

The king was marching from Leicester with design to relieve Oxford; but hearing the siege was raised, he returned towards Northampton, causing great terror to the associated parts. Cromwell, before the breaking up of the siege, had been called from thence to the isle of Ely, to support the association, and was shortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: But upon a resolution of the council of war, the general wrote to them, desiring them to dispense with Cromwell's absence from the house, and to appoint him Lieutenant-general of the horse. The parliament being sensible of his great usefulness

in the field, readily complied with this request, and accordingly commissioned him lieutenant-general of horse to the whole army. Hereupon Cromwell being recruited with six hundred horse and dragoons, came out of the associated pars, and joined with Fairfax and his main army at Gilsborough. Whitelock says, he now began to increase in the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.

The king having tarried a little at Borough Hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and designed to march to Pontfret, thinking if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he should fight with greater advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being sent out with a flying party of horse, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quarter'd in Naseby town, and took many prisoners, some of prince Rupert's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade; which gave such an alarm to the whole army, that the king at mid-night left his own quarters, and for security hastened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince Rupert, he summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved (chiefly through the prince's eagerness, old commanders being much against it) to give the enemy battle; and since Fairfax had been so farw

forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out. Accordingly being come near Naseby, there they found him; and both armies being drawu up in battalia, fac'd each other. Prince Rupert and prince Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marinduke Langdale the left, and the king himself the main body; the earl of Lindsey and Jacob lord Aistley, the right hand reserve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by colonel Ireton, the main body by general Fairfax and major-general Skippon, who fought stoutly, tho' sorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reservers were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-west side of Naseby, above a mile broad; which space of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being dispos'd on June 14, at three in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royalists word being God and queen Mary, and the others God with us. Prince Rupert gave the first charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great resolution. Ireton made gallant resistance, but was forced at last to give ground, his horse being shot under him, and himself run through the thigh with

with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken prisoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regain'd his liberty. The prince chass'd the enemy almost to Naseby town, and in his return summon'd the train, and visited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of Marston-Moor, his long stay so far from the main body was no small prejudice to the king's army.

For Cromwell in the mean time charg'd furiously on the king's left wing, and that with good success, forcing them from the body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reserve: After which, joining with Fairfax, he charg'd the king's foot, who had beaten the parliaments, and got possession of their ordinance, and thought themselves sure of the victory; but being now in confusion, and having no horse to support them, they were easily overborn by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by prince Rupert, return'd from his fatal success; but the horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy: Upon which the lord Clarendon says, That this difference was observ'd all along in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell, (it having never been remarkable under Essex or Waller,

Waller, but only under them) That though the king's troops prevail'd in the charge, and routed those they charg'd, they seldom rally'd themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day; which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edge-Hill; whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevail'd, or tho' they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the place; so that they were forced at last to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who pursued them within two miles of Leicester; and the king finding the pursuit so hot, fled from thence to Ashby-de-la-zough, and then to Lichfield, and so for a safer retreat into Wales.

Thus ended the famous battle of Naseby, in which the wonderful success of the parliament party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke thro' the enemy's squadrons with such rapidity, that nothing either could or durst stop him. 'Tis said, that in this action, a commander of the king's

king's knowing Cromwell advanc'd briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encounter'd by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharg'd, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad sword, chanc'd to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head ; and now just going to repeat his stroak, Cromwell's party came in and rescu'd him ; and one of them, alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

The king's loss in this battle was irreparable ; for besides that there were slain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, most of his foot were taken prisoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thousand arms and other rich booty ; among which was also his majesty's own cabinet, where were reposit'd his most secret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which shew'd how contrary his counsels with her were to those he declared to the kingdom ; for in one of them he declares his intention, to make peace with the Irish, and to have forty thousand of them over into England to prosecute the war.

here; and in another he complains, That he could not prevail on his mungrel parliament, at Oxford, to vote that the two houses at Westminster were not a lawful parliament; so little thanks, as one observes who was no enemy to his majesty, had these noble lords and gentlemen, for exposing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adversity; what then might they expect, if he should prevail by conquest? In those letters also he tells the queen, That he would not [make] a peace with the rebels [the parliament] without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper she sent him: That in the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not positively own the parliament, it being otherwise to be construed, too' they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, That he did not acknowledge them a parliament. These and many other papers relating to the publick, were printed with observations, and kept upon record, by order of two houses, who also made a public declaration of them, shewing what the nobility and gentry, who follow'd the king, were to expect.



C H A P. IV.

*From the battle of Naseby to the conclusion
of the first civil war.*

THE battle of Naseby was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period, the king's affairs became desperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and most sensible to decline every where. The parliaments army had no sooner gain'd this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they soon overflow'd the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leicester was immediately regain'd without any considerable opposition. From thence they march'd to the relief of Taunton, which being besieg'd Goring's army, had made a wonderful resistance under the command of the valiant Blake. Upon the approach of the parliaments forces, Goring drew off his army towards Langport; and being master of the several passes on the river, hoped to have declin'd fighting, and secured his retreat towards Bridgwater: But the others drew down their ordnance with such advantage, that whilst they did great execution on Goring's

Goring's army, their foot resolutely gain'd the pass, and the horse advanc'd over; when they so bravely engaged the army, that they soon put them to flight, charging them almost to Bridgewater. Cromwell in this action shewed much prudence as well as courage; for he wou'd not suffer part of the horse to pursue the enemy, till they were all come up together; and then himself leading them on, perform'd the work with such success, that he took almost all their foot and ordnance.

After this victory, 'twas resolved, in a council of war, to storm the strong garrison of Bridgewater. Accordingly they began the assault on the 23d of July, and forc'd a surrender the very next day. The taking of this place was a very great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garrisons was drawn over the country from the Severn to the south coasts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime and Langport; whereby the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly at the king's devotion, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern parts.

The merciless rapines and violence practised by the royalists in the western parts had occasioned the rising of a third kind of army, which suddenly starting up in divers counties, assembled to the number of five

or

or six thousand of the middle sort of men. These soon had the name of Club-Men, and were encouraged by several gentlemen of the country, who entertained particular hopes from this insurrection. The motto of their colours was,

*If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
Be assur'd we will bid you battle.*

This army of Club Men for some time very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themselves. But having for some months stood upon their own defence, and molested both armies, they were at last very seasonably suppress'd and dispers'd by the parliament forces under lieutenant-general Cromwell; who, together with Fairfax, daily gain'd ground in those parts.

Bristol was a place of great importance, which prince Rupert, with about five thousand horse and foot, held for the king. It was now therefore thought requisite to besiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general being come before it summoned prince Rupert to deliver up the town; but upon his refusal, it was advis'd by Cromwell and some other chief officers to storm part of it: Which accordingly was executed with

with so much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a second assault; but immediately surrendered that great and well fortify'd city to the parliament general; whereby the king lost all his chief magazines and warlike provisions, and consequently in a short time South Wales and all the west of England.

Upon this his majesty wrote a sharp letter to prince Rupert, in which he says, I must remember you of yours of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, That if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months; did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, some where beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass, &c.

Fairfax and Cromwell sent letters to the parliament, relating the particulars of the siege of Bristol, and in Cromwell's there was this passage: It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made: Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good: It's their honour

honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service, know, That faith and prayers obtained this city for you.

Bristol being thus reduced, Cromwell presently takes with him a brigade of four regiments and marches to the strong castle of the Devizes, whose natural strength was much improved by the ingenuity of its governour, Sir Charles Lloyd, who looking upon it to be almost impregnable returned no other answer to Cromwell's first summons but win it and wear it.

But as if nothing could be a sufficient defence against this victorious commander, whose very name began now to strike terror to his enemies, the governour was soon brought to terms, and forc'd to deliver up the place to him.

After this, Cromwell hastens to Winchester, and in his march disarms and disperses the Hampshire club men thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortify'd; but after a short dispute, he fir'd the gate, and his men entered. This done, he summoned the castle; when not surrendering, he planted six guns, and after firing them round, sent a second summons for a treaty, which they also refused. Upon this, he made a breach with two hundred shot, and then the governour, the lord Ogle, thought fit

fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and colonel Hammond and major Harrison for Cromwell, agreed upon articles for delivering up the castle into the hands of the parliament. Here an instance is given of Cromwell's faithfulness in his punctual observance of articles; for 'tis said, that being informed that some of his men had been faulty in this respect, he caus'd one of them to be hanged to the terror of others, and sent the rest to Oxford, that the governour Sir Thomas Glemham might punish them as he thought fit; who is said with generous acknowledgements to return them to Cromwell again.

His next attempt was upon Basing house, a very strong place. It was the mansion of the marquis of Winchester, a Papist, standing on a rising ground, and encompassed with a brick rampart lined with earth, having a deep dry ditch surrounding it. Here the marquis stood upon his guard, assisted at first only with his own family and a hundred musqueteers from Oxford, but recruited afterwards by the king from time to time, as there was occasion. This garrison had been often assaulted, but in vain, first by colonel Norton and colonel Harvey, next, by Sir William Waller with seven thousand horse and foot, who, though many then call'd him William the Conqueror,

did

did little more than increase the courage of the besieged, who made many furious sallies upon them.

Thus the place stood for some years out-braviag all attempts, till the valiant Cromwell endeavouring the reducing of it, which he very soon affected; for having seen the Lord Ogle, the late governor of Winchester, march out according to articles, and settled the affairs of that garrison for the parliament, he the next day marched for Basing; where being arrived, after planting the batteries, and settling the several posts for a storm, his men fell on with great resolution. Colonel Pickering storm'd the new house, and passing through, got the gate of the old house; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament soldiers would not regard. In the meantime, col. Montague's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments recover'd the strongest work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house wall, before they could enter.

Thus was the place reduc'd with very little loss on the parliament's side. Seventy-four of the royalists were slain, among whom were some officers of quality, divers of them Papists. Two hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was the marquis

himself, Sir Robert Peak, and several other officers, whom Cromwell sent up to the parliament. They took about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and provisions, and there was rich pillage for the soldiers, of money, jewels, household-stuff, &c. For these important services, the house order'd a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

The next place Cromwell visited, was Langford-house near Salisbury; but Sir Bartholomew Pell having had information of what he had done at Basing, and expecting no better success, submitted at the first summons.

From hence he march'd towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards Exeter, with a design to lay siege to it: Where being arrived, he advanced farther westward towards the enemy, and at Bovy Tracy, fought the brigade commanded by the lord Wentworth, taking four hundred horse, and about a hundred foot prisoners, with six standards, one of which was the king's.

The design upon Exeter being for the present laid aside, the army under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell appear'd before Dartmouth, and took it by storm; which being done, they encounter'd the lord Hopton at Tarrington, and gave him

an absolute defeat ; and then pursu'd the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where prince Charles had his own regiment, and other Cornish troops, which compos'd a body of five thousand horse, and one thousand foot : But not being able to resist the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he imbark'd with several lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the isle of Scilly. His troops were left under the command of the lord Hopton, who was so press'd upon by the parliament's forces, that he was oblig'd to disband on the 14th of March ; soon after which Exeter was surrendered to the parliament. And now lieutenant-general Cromwell came up to London from the general, to advise about the future motion of the army ; and taking his place in the parliament, received the hearty thanks of the house for his great and faithful services.

Fairfax and Cromwell having thus scoured the west, and only Newark remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and desperate condition. The royalists in Oxford had indeed still some little hopes from a party commanded by the lord Astey, which were the only forces in the field for the king ; but these hopes soon vanish'd ; for being encountered by col. Morgan near Stow on the Wold, he was entirely

entirely defeated, himself and almost all his men being taken prisoners. Astley was so sensible of the consequence of this defeat, that when he was taken, he said to one of the parliament officers, You have now done your work and may go to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves.

The parliament army flush'd with irresistible success, was now marching to besiege Oxford, the king's head quarters and place of his residence; who in this extremity resolv'd to throw himself into the hands of the Scotch army, then lying before Newark. He was advised to do this by Monsieur Montrevil, the French ambassador, who was then in the Scotch quarters; and the rather encourag'd to it, becau'ē the animosities between the English parliament and the Scots, were now grown very high, the latter complaining against the former, for their delays in settling the Presbyterian government of the church according to the Covenant; and for withholding their pay. In pursuance of this resolution, before the siege of Oxford cou'd be formed, the king escaped from thence on the 27th of April. He went away in great disguise, accompany'd, only by Dr. Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, and riding as a servant to the latter, with a cloak-bag behind him. They went to Henly, Brentford,

Brentford, and Harrow on the Hill; thence towards St. Albans, making their way to Harborough, where they expected Monsieur Montrevil: who not being there as he had appointed, the king went to Stamford, thence to Downham, and so to Southampton; where finding the French agent, he sent to general Leven, and was conducted by a troop of horse to lieutenant general Leslie's quarters. Oxford being close block'd up, surrender'd on the 22d of June, and the few remaining garrisons soon after, viz. Worcester, Wallingford, Pendennis Cast'e, and Ragland Castle. The parliament being informed of the king's escape from Oxford, and arrival in the Scotch army, were very much startled at it, and sent an order to their commissioners to demand him of them; requiring also their army to advance, in order to hinder a conjunction of the king's party with the Scots, being very jealous of his making terms with them: But upon their surrendering Newark to the English, which the king had order'd to be deliver'd up to them, and general Leven's forbidding his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they began to be pretty well satisfy'd for the present; and so the Scots, having got the king in their possession, march'd with him to Newcastle, where

he received the parliament's propositions for peace; which he not agreeing to, they consult how to take him out of the hands of the Scots, to send them out of England, and to bring him up into safer custody. In order to this, they thought it necessary to reckon with the Scots, who offer'd to accept of a sum in gross, for full discharge of their arrears, to be agreed on by commissioners. These concluded on four hundred thousand pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other within stated terms. The delivering up of the king was a tacit condition of this agreement; and accordingly, the Scots having received two hundred thousand pounds, which was sent down to them, deliver'd the king, after he had been with them about nine months, into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, who conducted him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire. Upon this Mr. Coke has these reflections: " Thus this prince, who before had shifted the worthy members of parliament from one prison to another, that they might have no benefit of their Habeas Corpus, is himself shifted a prisoner from one place to another, without any hope of an Habeas Corpus; He that before, by his absolute will and pleasure, would without any law seize his subjects goods; and com-

mit

them to prison, cannot now enjoy his own estate in his own house: He that before arbitraily rais'd ship-money, has not now one ship to command."



C H A P V.

From the conclusion of th^e first and long civil war, to the kin^s; seizure at Holmby by the army.

THE king's party being subdued by the parliament, who had also him to their hands, and the Scots having quietly left the kingdom, and so the long civil war between the king and the parliament, which had been maintain'd at the expence of so much bloody and treasure, being entirely ended, the victors began now to quarrel among themselves; and the differences and dissensions in the parliament and army, and chiefly between those two bodies, the civil and military powers, occasion'd a great deal of uneasiness and trouble to the nation. The foundation of all this, as Ludlow tells us, were the high contests between the Presbyterians and Independant parties, the one

one not enduring any superior, nor the other any equal. The Presbyterians, says he, grasp'd at the whole power, proceeding with equal bitterness against all other sects, as against the episcopal party; and finding themselves superior in both houses, little doubted of being able to reform the army, and new model it again, which, without doubt they would have attempted had not the death of the earl of Essex, who died about this time, prevented them. This party prevailed very much in the city, so that an address was presented to the parliament from the mayor and common council, wherein after acknowledging the care of the two houses in the reformation of the church, &c. they desired, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects, might be suppress'd, and that those who were distinguish'd by the name of Independants, might be mov'd from all employments civil and military. Ludlow farther tells us, the party in the house that were for betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, for a speedy peace, and to suppress sectaries: The army, both officers and soldiers, were complain'd against, as holding erroneous and schismatical doctrines; and for taking upon them to preach

and

and expound the scripture, not being learned nor ordained. And as Cromwell espous'd the Independent party, the parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking measures to dismiss him, and his chief partizans, from their military posts. Cromwell was no less jealous of them, and being aware of what they design'd, resolv'd to be even with them. Ludlow tells us, that as he was walking with him one morning in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveigh'd bitterly against the parliament, and said familiarly to him, If thy farther were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserve; adding farther, That it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas, when one serves under a general, he may do as much service and yet be free from all blame and envy.

Accordingly from this time Cromwell, to secure himself, and prevent the designs of the Presbyterians, made a strong party for milicry power, for which he had now a fair opportunity offer'd him: For the Presbyterian party in parliament, knowing that the army was mostly inclined to the Independants, were earnestly desirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this de-

ign, under the pretence of lessening their great charge, they resolved on the disbanding of some troops, and transporting others for the service of Ireland. Cromwell having timely notice of this resolution, he, together with Ireton, insinuated to the soldiers, that the parliament intended to disband them without paying them their arrears, or else to send them into Ireland to die of sickness or famine. Upon this, the soldiers broke out into reviling language against the parliament; and when the orders for disbanding some, and transporting others, as before mentioned, were sent down to them, they refused to comply with them. The parliament being informed of it, were very much offended at this behaviour of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general Skippon, in reporting the matter to the house, much abated the heat of their resentment; though several threatening expressions came from some of them; which occasioned Cromwell, then in the house, to whisper Ludlow in the ear, saying, These men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears.

This spirit of opposition being raised in the army, they began now more professedly to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a share with them in settling the kingdom; and that they might be

be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of such officers as they approved, which was called the general's council of officers, and was so resemble the house of peers; and three or four out of each rigment, most corpora's or serjeants, were chosen by the common soldiers, and call'd Agitators, who were to answer to the house of commons. These two bodies met severally, and examined all the acts and orders of the parliament towards settling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing, or disbanding the army ; and, after some consultations, they unanimously resolved and declared, " That they would not be divided or disbanded, till their full arrears were paid, and till full provision was made for liberty of conscience ; which they said was the ground of the quarrel, tho' hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was now a greater persecution against religious and godly men than ever had been in the king's government, when the bishops were their judges." They added, " That they did not look upon themselves as a band of Janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part; and before they laid down those arms, they would

would see all those ends well provided for, that the people might not hereafter suffer those grievances, with which they had formerly been oppress'd."

Three or four of their own members being sent to the house of commons with this declaration, they with great confidence delivered it at the bar. And soon after, the soldiers drew up a vindication of their proceedings, directing it to their general; wherein they complained of a design to disband and new model the army; "Which they said, was a plot contrived by some men, who had lately tasted of sovereignty, and being rais'd above the ordinary sphere of servants, would fain become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." For which reason they declared, "That they would neither be employed for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were obtained, and the subjects rights and liberties should be vindicated and secured." This paper being sign'd by many inferiour officers, the parliament declared them enemies to the state, imprisoning some of them who talked loudest: Whereupon they drew up another address to their general, complaining; "How disdainfully they were used by the parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and spilt their blood;

blood; that the privileges due to them as soldiers, and as subjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries done to them, they were abused, beaten, and imprisoned."

Upon this Fairfax (who was indeed a Presbyterian, but was only general in name, Cromwell having got the ascendant over him, and having the sole influence upon the army, which he managed as he pleased) was prevailed upon to write a letter to a member of parliament, who read it to the house; wherein he took notice of several petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and other places against the adding, "That it was looked upon as strange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when so many petitions were received against them; and that he much doubted, that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of taking some other course for their own vindication."

The parliament was exceedingly troubled at these proceedings of the army. However, they resolved not to submit to, or be governed by those who were their servants, and lived upon their pay: And therefore, after many severe expressions against the presumption of several officers and soldiers, they declared, "That whosoever should refuse,

refuse, being commanded, to engage in the service of Ireland, should be disbanded." But the army would by no means recede from the resolutions they had taken, and falling into a direct and high mutiny, call'd for the arrears due to them, which they knew where, and how to levy for themselves, nor would they be at all pacify'd, till the declaration of the parliament against them was rāed out of their journal-book, and a month's pay sent to them : Nor did this satisfy them, but they still gave out, " That they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the parliament, and where to have their service better esteem'd and requited." This so startled the parliament, that they sent a committee of the lords and commons, some whereof were not at all ungrateful to the army, to treat with a committee of officers, upon the best means to be used, for composing these differences. By which method of proceeding the army seemed to be put upon a level with the parliament ; and this also dispos'd general Fairfax to a greater concurrence with the humour of the army, when he saw it was so much comply'd with, and submitted to by all men.

Cromwell hitherto thought it necessary to keep himself as fair with the parliament as possible ; for which purpose, having a rare knack ;

knack at dissimulation, he would seem highly displeas'd with the insolence of the soldiers, and being still in the house of commons, when any of their addresses were presented, inveigh'd bitterly against their presumption. He also propos'd, that the general might be sent down to the army; who, he said, would soon conjure down this mutinous spirit: And he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was once or twice sent to reduce them to order; and having staid two or three days with them, he would again return to the parliament, and make heavy complaints of the great license that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who desir'd that the nation should be again imbru'd in blood, he was render'd so odious to them, that they had design'd to kill him, if he had not timely escap'd out of their hands. But notwithstanding this, he was suspected by many, of having under-hand encourag'd the army's proceedings; and the most active officers and agitators were believed to be his own creatures, who would do nothing without his direction: So that it was privately resolv'd by the chief members of the house of commons, that when he came the next day into the house, which he seldom fail'd to do, they would send him to the Tower.

This

This design could not be manag'd so secretly, but Cromwell got intelligence of it; and so when the house the next day expected every minute to see him come in, they had notice given them, that he was met out of the town by break of day, with only one servant, making what haste he could towards the army, where he had order'd a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he sent a letter to the house of commons, to acquaint them, ' That having the night receiy'd a letter from some officers of his own regiment, That the jealousy the troops had conceiv'd of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believed, if he would forthwith come down to them, they would all by his advice be soon reclaimed; upon this he had made all the haste he could, and did find, that the soldiers had been abus'd by misinformation; and that he hop'd to discover the fountain from whence it sprung; and in the mean time desired, that the general, and the other officers of the horse, or such as remain'd about the town, might be immediately sent to their quarters; and he believed it would be very requisite, in order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the future, to have a general rendezvous of the army, of which the general

neral would best consider, when he came down; which he wish'd might be hasten'd.

This account of Cromwell's management with the parliament, leads me to insert here what Sir Harbotle Grimston related to bp. Burnet, concerning him, as we have it in the first volume of the bishop's history, p. 45. During the contests between the army and the parliament (for we cannot exactly assign the time when this happen'd) two officers brought an account to Grimston, that at a meeting of the officers, it being proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to confide in; Cromwell thereupon said, he was sure of the army, but there was another body that wanted more to be purg'd, namely the house of commons, and he believed the army only could do that. Grimston brought the officers to the lobby of the house, where they were resolved to justify what they had said; and the commons having then something in debate, he diverted it, saying, he had a matter of privilege of the highest nature to lay before them, which concern'd the being and freedom of the house; and then he accused Cromwell of a design to put a force upon them, and having his witnesses at the door, requested they might be brought to the bar and examin'd. Accordingly they were brought, and justify'd all they

had related to him, and gave a full account of what had pass'd at the meetings of the officers; which done, they withdrew; when Cromwell falling down on his knees, made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the interest of the house. This he did with great vehemence and many tears, and then made so long a speech in his own vindication, that he tired the house, and wrought so much on his party, that what the officers said, was so little credited, that if it had been moved, Sir Harbotle believed, that both he and they had been sent to the Tower. Cromwell however no sooner got out of the house, but resolving to trust himself no more with them, he hastened to the army; and a few days after he brought them up, and forc'd a great many from the house. 'Twas his opinion, it seems, as the bishop observes, with many in those times, that in great occasions, when some were called to extraordinary services, they were excused from the common rules of mortality; which they thought was the case of the judges among the Israelites.

Another story related by Mr. Locke, in his Memories relating to the life of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftesbury, may be likewise proper to be here inserted. He tells us, it happened one morning

ning that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper calling upon Mr. Hollis (viz. after their reconciliation, which he also relates) in his way to the house, he found him in a great heat against Cromwell, saying, he was resolved to bring him to punishment. Sir A.A. shew'd him how dangerous such an attempt might be, earnestly dissuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to get rid of him, by sending him with a command into Ireland, which, as things stood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not satisfy Hollis; and so when he came to the house, he brought the matter to a debate, and it was moved, that Cromwell, and those guilty with him, should be punished. Cromwell being then in the house, no sooner heard this, but he stole out, took horse, and posted to the army (which my author says, as he remembers, was at Tri-ploe-Heath) where he informed them of what the Presbyterian party was doing in the house, and made such use of it to them, that they now united together under him, who forthwith led them away to London, giving out menaces against Hollis and his party, who, with Stapleton and some others, were fain to fly; and thereby the Independent party becoming the stronger, they, as they call'd it, purged the house, and turn'd out the Presbyterians. Soon after, Cromwell

well meeting Sir A. A. told him, I am beholden to you for your kindness to me; for you, I hear, were for letting me go without punishment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wise enough to take your advice. But to return:

The King was all this while at Holmby: But the animosities between the parliament and army still continuing and increasing, the agitators feared the parliament would now for their own security receive him upon any terms, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army and reduce them to obedience. Wherefore, being instigated thereto by Cromwell, they on the 4th of June, sent cornet Joyce, one of their body, with a party of horse, to take the king out of the hands of the parliament commissioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, Joyce about midnight drew up his horse in order before Holmby-house, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and major-general Brown, who being alarmed, had doubl'd the guards, enquiring his name and business, he said his name was Joyce, a cornet in colonel Whalley's regiment, and his business was to speak with the king. Being ask'd from whom, he said, From myself, my errand is to the king, I must and I will speak with him. Greaves and Brown commanded

commanded their men within to stand to their arms ; but they seeing them to be fellow-soldiers of the same army, opened the gates, and shook hands with them as old friends. The cornet plac'd his centinels at the commissioners chamber-doors, and went himself by the backstairs, directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much surpriz'd, desired him to lay aside his arms, and assured him, that in the morning he should speak with the king : But he with sword and pistol insisted to have the door opened, and made so much noise that he waked his majesty, who sent him out word, That he would not rise nor speak w th him till the morning ; upon which the cornet retired in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, sent for him, who with great boldness told his majesty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king desired the commissioners might be call'd ; but Joyce said, they had nothing to do, but to return back to the parliament. Being ask'd for a sight of his instructions, he told his majesty he should see them presently ; so drawing up his troop in the inner court, These Sir, said he, are my instructions. The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and armed, told the cornet with a smile, His instructions were

were in fair characters, legible without spelling. Joyce then pressing the king to go along with him, his majesty refus'd, unless the commissioners might attend him; which the cornet r ply'd, He was very indifferent, they might go if they would: So the king being attended by the commissioners of the parliament, went along with Joyce, and was that night conducted by him to colonel Montague's house at Hinching-brook, and the next night to Sir John Cutt's at Childersley near Cambridge. Here Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and some of them kissed his hand. 'Tis said, That Joyce being told, that the general was displeased with him, for taking the king from Holmby, he answer'd, That lieutenant-general Cromwell had given him orders at London to do all that he had done; and indeed Fairfax now resign'd himself entirely to Cromwell's judgment, who led and govern'd him as he pleas'd. And though he was at first dissatisfy'd with this proceeding o' Joyce, yet Cromwell soon appeased him, by representing to him, "That nothing could have been done of greater advantage to the army and their generals, to the church and state than what Joyce had been doing: That the king was on the point of making an accommodation with

with the parliament, who had determined to send colonel Greaves to fetch him; and if Joyce had not fetch'd him, there wou'd have been an end of both officers and army, and all the pains they had taken for the publick good, would not only have been useless, but criminal."



C H A P. VI.

From the king's seizure at Holmby; to his departure to the isle f White,

THE parliament received the news of the king's seizure by the army, with the utmost amazement and consternation: But this was not all; for about this time, the army drew up a charge of high-treason against eleven members of the house of commons, viz. Mr. Danzil Holis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nicholas, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Edward Harley, Sir William Waller, Colonel Mafsey, and Sir John Maynard; for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, &c. This charge was accompanied with

a declaration, shewing the reason of what they had done, affirming, that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tender'd the preservation of the publick cause, and securing the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason, being rather to hinder these members, who were the chief of the Presbyterian party, from using their influence in the house (which was very great) in opposition to the proceeding capitally against them, they determined rather voluntarily to withdraw themselves, than to put the parliament or army to any further trouble, or themselves to any more hazard.

As these eleven members were the chief of the Presbyterian party in parliament; so at the head of the opposite party (who were all cal'd Independents, tho' made up of men of different persw. sions, as well as of real Independents) were lieutenant general Cromwell, colonel Ludlow, John Lisle, Esq; Sir Henry Vane, Henry Marten, Esq; Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Mildmay, lord Grey of Groby, lord Monson, Anthony Stapely, Esq; Miles Corbet, Esq; &c. There was another party in the house of commons who declared for neither side, as Mr. Pickpoint, Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq, Oliver St. John, Esq; John Crew, Esq; sir

Sir Thomas Widdrington, colonel Birch, Mr. Goodwyn, Sir John Hippesly, &c. Who sometimes voted with the Presbyterians, and sometimes with the Independents, as they thought conduc'd most to the service of the state; and generally they went with those who were for satisfaction and security, till it was known that the death of the king was meant by it.

Cromwell's great design, was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the Presbyterians; and having now gotten him into his own hands, he was for endeavouring his restoration, by means of the Independents, thinking that thereby liberty of conscience would be the better secured, which the Presbyterian hierarchy would not so well admit of. And indeed the king himself began to think that his condition was alter'd for the better, and to look upon the Independent interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it might subsist under any form, which the other could not do. What encourag'd the king the more, was, that he was much more civilly treated since his being in the army, than he was before, whilst he was the parliament's prisoner at Holmby. He was now indeed to make his involuntary progress according to the motion of the army, and so at length was brought to

Hampton-Court; but he was every where allowed to appear in state and lustre, his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all servants permitted to attend him in their proper places. The army had also sent an address to him full of protestations of duty, beseeching him, " That he would be content, for some time, to reside among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture, as he might find all things to his own content, and security; which they infinite y desired to see as soon as might be, and to that purpose made daily instances to the parliament." Cromwell indeed thought fit at first to be somewhat upon the reserve in this matter, for fear of increasing the parliament's jealousy of him. The lord Clarendon tells us, That he and Ireton had been with his majesty, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; that the king used all the address he could towards them, to get some promise from them, as knowing them to have the greatest influence upon the army; but they were so reserv'd, and stood so much upon their guard, and spoke so few words, that uothing could be g ther'd from what they said; and they defin'd to be excused for not seeing his majesty often, upon the great jealousies the parliament had of them, towards whom they

pro'fessed all fidelity. But after some time, their behaviour towards his majesty was more free and open, they visited him more frequently; and had longer conferences with him; and Cromwell in particular is said to have promis'd him, " That if he and his party would sit still, and neither act or declare against the army, they would restore him, and make him the most glorious prince in Christendom." Tho' we are told, that in private among his friends, he boasted, " That now he had got the king into his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket." His majesty was very sensible that Cromwell and Ireton bore the greatest sway in the army, and that general Fairfax had little or no influence upon it. We are inform'd that his excellency conterr'd with the king, in private, and in a particular manner offer'd him his service; but upon his taking leave, his majesty said to him, " Sir, I have as good intrest in the army as you: Which expression, the general said, was more shocking, and occasioned him more grief and vexation, than all the troubles and fatigues he had endured thro' the whole war.

The news of the king's being in the army and the civil treatment he met with from them, occasion'd the queen and prince of Wales then in France, to dispatch Sir

Edw.

Edward Ford, who had married ~~his~~ sister, but had been an officer in the king's army from the beginning of the war, of the army, and to promote an agreement between the king and them. Sir John Berkley was likewise sent over upon the like errand ; and 'twas in his instructions to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, to come and assist him in his negotiation. Being on his way towards London, he was met by Sir Allen Applesley, who had been lieutenant-governor under him at Exeter ; by whom he was acquainted, that he was sent to him from lieutenant-general Cromwell, and some other officers of the army, with letters, and a Cypher, as also particular instructions to desire him to call to mind his own discourse at a conference with colonel Lambert, and other officers, upon the surrender of Exeter ; when having taken notice of the bitter reproaches cast on the king by those of the army, and supposing that such discourses were encouraged in order to dispose mens minds for an alteration of the government ; he said. " That it was not only a wicked, but difficult undertaking, if not impossible, for a few men, not of the greatest quality, to introduce a popular government, against the king, the nobility and gentry, the Presbyterians, and the genius of the nation,

tion, for so many ages accustom'd to monarchy; and advised, That since the Presbyterians, who had begun the war upon many specious pretences, were found to have fought only their own advancements, by which means they had lost almost all their power and credit; the Independent party, who had no particular obligation to the crown, as many of the presbyterians had, w^ould make good what the presbyterians had only pretended to, and restore the king and people to their just andancie it rights'; which they were concern'd to do in point o' prudence and interest, there being no means under heaven more likely to secure themselves, and obtain as much trust and power as subjects are capable of; whereas if they aim'd at more, it wou'd be attended with a general hatred, and their own destruction." He was likewise ordered by Cromwell, to let Sir John know, " That tho' to this discourse of his, they then gave only the hearing? yet they had since found an experience, that all, or the greatest part of it was reasonable, and they were resolv'd to act accordingly, and might be perceived by what had already pass'd; and desired that he would present them humbly to the queen an^t prince, and be a suiter to them in their names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their

their opinion of them, and of their intentions, till their further carriage should make full proof of their integrity, of which they had already given some testimonies to the world; and that when he had perform'd this office, he would come back to England and be an eye-witness of their proceedings."

The parliament at this time fear'd nothing so much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king and unite with his party, of which there was so much shew; and many imprudent persons, who very much desir'd it, brag'd too much of it; whereupon the two houses sent a committee to his majesty, with an address of another strain than they had lately us'd, making many protestations of duty, and declaring, 'That if he was not in all respects treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their fault, who were desirous he might be at full liberty, and do what he would.' The army at the same time was not without jealousy, that the king hearken'd to some secret propositions from the Presbyterian party, and design'd to make an absolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occasion'd Ireton to say to him, Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament. The king, in the mean time finding himself courted.

courted on all han's, was so confident of his own importance, as to imagine himself able to turn the scale to what side soever he pleased. In this temper he was when Sir John Berkley came to him; which he did, after leave obtain'd from Cromwell, who also confirm'd with his own mouth what Sir Allen Appesley had before communicated to Sir John, with this addition, ‘ That he thought no man could enjoy his life and estate quietly, unless the king had his right; which, he said, they had already declared to the world in general terms, and would more particu'arly very soon, wherein they would comprise the several interests of the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Independents, as far as they were consistent with one another.’ Some time after, ’tis said, Sir John meeting with him at Reading, as he was coming from the king at Caversham, Cromwell told him, That he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children; and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, That never man was so abus'd in his sinister opinion of the king, who he thought was the most upright and conscientious man in the three kingdoms; that the Independant party were infinitely obliged to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him

him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruin'd them, and which his majesty's interest seem'd to have invite him to. Concluding with this wish, That God would be pleas'd to look upon him, according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king.

The army in general, as well as Cromwell, appeared at this time to be very zealous for the king's interest, and yet they seem'd somewhat to suspect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators, with whom Sir John Berkley convers'd at Reading, declared to him their jealousy, that Cromwell was not sincere for the king, and desired him, if he found him false, to inform them of it, promising, that they wou'd endeavour to set him right either with or against his will. Major Huntingdon, an officer in Cromwell's regiment, who was intrusted by him to command the guard about his majesty, became wholly devote to the royal interest, and by the king's order brought two general officers to Berkley, as persons in whom he might confide. These two discours'd frequently with him, and assur'd him, "That a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators, and that Cromwell and Ireton were great dissemblers, if they were not

not real in it; but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise." They likewise inform'd him, " That proposals were drawn up by Ireton, wherein Episcopacy was not requir'd to be abolish'd, nor any of the king's party wholly ruin'd, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown;" and advis'd, " That his majesty would without delay consent to them, there being no assurance of the army, which they had observ'd already to have changed more than once." Cromwell himself was also doubtful of the army. In all his conferences with Berkley, he appear'd exceeding desirous of a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch that he sometimes blam'd Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his backwardness in coming up to his majesty's sense; and on the other hand would wish, that Sir John Berkley would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow principles; always declaring, That he doubted the army would not persist in their good intentions towards the king.

By this time Mr. Ashburnham was arrived to the king's great satisfaction. Sir John Berkley conversed chiefly with the agitators, but Ashburnham was soon of another mind, and openly declar'd, That

having always used the best company, he would not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, they would, without doubt, be able to command their own army; and that he determin'd to apply himself wholly to them. Hereupon there was soon observ'd a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that attended the king, as also a close correspondence with Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton, messages daily passing from the king to the head-quarters: Which soon gave the rest of the army a suspicion of some private treaty being carried on with the king; which being likewise encouraged by the Presbyterian party (the lord Lauderdale, and several of the city of London, assuring him, that they would oppose the army to the death) when the proposals were brought to him, and his concurrence humbly desired by the army, he entertain'd their commissioners with very disobliging language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much, as that he pass'd the bill against the earl of Stafford; and that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals; for there was nothing mentioned in them concerning church-government. The proposals

posals were indeed much more moderate than those sent to him from the parliament, but he unhappily thought, they proceeded only from the necessity they had of him, and in discoursing with them, would frequently use these or the like expressions, You cannot do without me ; you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you.

Not only the officers of the army who were present, but the king's own party, appeared exceedingly astonished at this kind of proceeding ; whereupon he began to soften his former discourse, but it was too late ; for colonel Rainsborough, who seem'd least of all to desire an agreement with him, immediately going out from the conference, went directly to the army, and gave them to understand what treatment their commissioners and proposals had met with from the king.

Let us now see how matters stood between the parliament, army, and city at that time.

The city, who hated the army, had their militia settled on the 4th of May, in the management of the Presbyterians, who were very diligent in compleating their companies : But this was contrary to the design of the army, and judg'd to be a conspiracy against it ; whereupon Fairfax, who in every thing was influenced by Cromwell,
upon

upon the 10th of June wrote, a letter to the parliament, That the militia of the city of London might be put into the hands of such as were better affected to the army, This the parliament quiet'y submitted to, and July 23d repealed the ordinance of the 4th of May.

The common-council being hereupon assembled, resolved to petition the parliament against it, which they accordingly did on the 26th ; and presently after, many thousand citizens, young men and apprentices, went in a body and delivered another petition, setting forth, " That to order the city's militia was the city's birth-right, belonging to them by charters confirmed in parliament ; for defence whereof, they had ventured their lives as far as the army; and therefore they desired, that the militia might be put again into the same hands, in which it was put with the parliament's and city's consent, by the ordinance of the 4th of May."

Upon the reading of this petition, the house of peers immediately revoked the ordinance of the 23d of July, and renewed that of the 4th of May, and sent it down to the commons for their consent ; which they durst not refuse, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce let the door of the house be

shut, and some of them got in amongst them; And some time after, when the house broke up, the speaker was forced back into the chair by the violence of the multitude, who detained him and the members, till they obliged them to pass a vote, That the king should come forthwith to London; and another, That he should be invited to come with honour, freedom, and safety. And then both houses adjourn'd for four days.

In this interval, several members, and the speakers of both houses, being apprehensive of danger from such tumults, repair'd to the army, complaining of the violences upon the parliament. The army could not have desir'd a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore receiv'd the two speakers with the members, as so many angels sent from heaven for their good, shewed them all imaginable respect, professed all submission to them, as to the parliament of England, and declared, That they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt. After the four days adjournment, the remainder of the parliament met; and both houses missing their speakers, chose them new ones, and passed the following votes. First, That the king should come to London. Secondly, That the militia of London should

should be authorized to raise forces for the defence of the city. That power be given to the same militia to chuse a general. Fourthly, That the eleven members impeached by the army, should resume their seats in parliament.

The citizens armed with these powers, proceed to raise forces under the command of Waller, Maffey and Pointz; but they were very much discouraged in their proceedings by the news of the general rendezvous of the army upon Hounflow-heath, where the two speakers appeared with their maces, and such members as accompanied them, viz. the earls of Northumberland, Salisbury and Kent, the lord Grey of Werke, the lord Howard, the lord Wharton, the earl of Mulgrave, and the lord Say, and six lords more, with the earl of Manchester, their speaker; and about a hundred members of the house of commons, with their speaker, Mr. Lenthal. Besides, the borough of Southwark was generally for the army, which was now marching towards London, to restore the members who fled to them, to their places and authorities. Part of the army seized upon the block-house at Gravesend, and block'd up the city by water towards the East, and the general with the rest of the army, towards the West. Upon this, the aldermen and com-

mon-council of the city deserted their three generals, and sent to Fairfax for a pacification; which he granted them upon these conditions.

First, That they should desert the parliament then sitting, and the eleven members.

Secondly, That they should recal their late declaration.

Thirdly, That they should relinquish their present militia.

Fourthly, That they should deliver up to the general all their forts, and the tower of London.

Fifthly, That they should disband all the forces they had lately raised, and do all things else, which were necessary for the publick tranquility.

The next day, Cromwell marched to Westminster, and placed the guards in the court, in the hall, and even at the doors of the two houses: and a little after, general Fairfax conducted the several members who had fled to the army, to their seats, in parliament; where they annulled all the acts and orders, which had passed since the 26th of July. Two days after, the army marched, as it were, in triumph thro' the city, the general leading the avant-guard, major general Skippon the main body, and Cromwell the rear-guard;

and

and all the soldiers having laurel branches in their hats. After this pompous march, the army was distributed into quarters, in Kent, Surrey, and Essex ; and thus they surrounded the city.

The city being subdued, and the parliament and army seemingly reconciled, there now arose differences in the army itself. The agitators no longer inclining to an agreement with the king, were very much disturbed at some of the great officers, who were still for promoting such an agreement : And many in the army complained of the intimacy of Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, with the chief officers of the army, declaring to the council of agitators, that the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them, when they were shut to those of the army. Cromwell was very uneasy at these discourses, and informed the king's party of them, telling Ashburnham and Berkley, " That if he were an honest man, he had said enough; of the sincerity of his intentions ; and if he were not, nothing was enough ; and therefore he conjured them, as they tendered the king's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but to send privately to him ; the suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them himself." Thus the agitators, who were supposed

supposed to be first set up by Cromwell to oppose the parliament's design of disbanding, began to be very troublesome to him, and were at length so set against him, that he was forced for his own safety to make his peace with them, by abandoning the king's interest: as we shall see hereafter.

About three weeks after the army entered London, the parliament thought fit to address themselves to the king, in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars concerning the Scots only excepted. His majesty advising with Berkley and Ashburnham, and some others about him, upon this matter, 'twas concluded to be unsafe for him to treat with the parliament, whilst the army were the masters: And some say, that instructions were given by Cromwell and other officers, " That if the king would assent to their proposals, lower than those of the parliament, the army would settle him again in his throne." However it was, the king thought fit to wave the parliament's propositions, or any treaty upon them, and entered a personal treaty upon the proposals of the army. The officers of the army having seen his answer before it was sent, seem'd to be very well pleased with it, and promised to do all they could to procure a personal treaty; and accordingly Cromwell and Ireton, and many of

their party in the house, press'd his majesty's desires with great earnestness; but, contrary to their expectations, they met with a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and now thought themselves sure of it; the suspicions of them growing so strong, that they were look'd upon as betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament. The army likewise, which lay then about Putney, were no less dissatisf'd with their proceedings, of which they receiv'd daily information from those that came to them from London; so that the agitators began to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, and declar'd, "That since the king had rejected their proposals, they were no farther engaged to him; but that they were now to consult their own safety, and the publick good, and having the power devolved upon them by the decision of the sword, to which both parties appeal'd, and being convinc'd that monarchy was inconsistent with the good of the nation, they resolved to use their utmost endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a commonwealth." They also design'd to have seiz'd Ashburnham and Berkeley, for negotiating the treaty they supposed

sed to have been carried on between the king and Cromwell ; and carrying their fury yet further, were resolved to wrest the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they called Cromwell and Ireton. These things struck a great terror into these two leaders, so that they thought it necessary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, because most of the great officers were still well affected to the king, and disliked these proceedings of the agitators, whose power they hoped by that means to suppress. But the agitators having notice of the intended rendezvous, and guessing at the design of it, us'd their utmost endeavours to prevent it, and resolved before-hand to seize on the person of the king.

Cromwell in the mean time acquainted the king with the danger he was in, and assuring him of his real service, protested to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his security in the place where he now resided. Hereupon the king was resolved to make his escape from Hampton-Court ; and some advised him to secure his person by leaving the kingdom : But to this he objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was unwilling to quit the army till that was over ; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they

they would be able to make good their engagements; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. Several other advices were offer'd him; but he at last resolved to go to the isle of Wight, he, being very probably, as Ludlow observes, recommended thither by a Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governour, who was one of the army. Pursuant to this resolution, the king left Hampton Court in the night, Berkley and Alburnham with some others accompanying him; and on the 13th of November they all went over to the isle of Wight, being conducted thither by Hammond himself, who the day before came to wait on his majesty at Titchfield.



CHAP. VII.

*From the king's escape from Hampton Court,
and departure to the isle of Wight, to
the breaking out of the second civil war.*

THE parliament being inform'd of the king's withdrawing himself from Hampton-Court, was in a terrible consternation, and immediately pass'd an ordinance,

declaring, " That it should be confiscation of estate, and loss of life, for any to harbour, or conceal the king's person, without giving information to the parliament. " And being now most'y devoted to the army, they caused some of the most noted presbyterians houses to be search'd; and sent posts to all the ports of the kingdom, That they might be shut, and no person be permitted to embark, lest the king in disguise should transport himself.

A proclamation was published, for the banishing all such as had ever borne arms for the king, from the city, or any place within twenty miles of it. But within two days their fears were all remov'd by Cromwell's informing the house, " That he had received letters from colonel Hammond, of the king's coming to the isle of Wight, and that he remained there in Carisbrook-Castle till the parliaments pleasure should be known." He at the same time assur'd them, " That colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and so much devoted to their service, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any body." And all this relation he made, says my Clarendon, with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded, that his majesty was where Cromwell desired he should be.

About this time the agitators of nine regiments

giments of horse, and seven of foot, presented a writing to the general, and afterwards to the parliament, declaring.

1. "That the people being unequally distributed by counties, cities and boroughs, for election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of inhabitants."

2. "That this present parliament be dissolved by the last day of September next."

3. "That the people do of course chuse themselves a parliament once in every two years."

4. "That the power of this, and all other future representatives is inferior only to theirs who chuse them, and extends, without the consent of any other person, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account, magistrates and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace; to the treating with foreign states; and generally to whatsoever is not reserved by those represented to themselves." And here they declare, "That impressing or constraining any to serve in the war, is against freedom, and not allowed to the representatives."

"That in all laws every person be bound alike; and that tenure, estates, charter, degree,

gree, birth, or place, do not confer any exception from the ordinary course of legal proceedings whereunto others are subject-ed." And,

" That the laws must be equal and good, and not destructive to the safety and well-being of the people.

" These they declar'd to be their native rights, which they were resolv'd to maintain, and not to depend, for the settlement of their peace and freedom, upon him that intended their bondage [meaning the king] and brought a cruel war upon them. Thus the agitators grew still bolder, and were resolv'd to accomplish their designs; and these with their adherents were now called Levellers, and occasioned great disturbance to the parliament and in the army, as likewise the trial and death of the king. They were call'd Levellers in derision only, and because they held that no person, of whatever rank, ought to be exempted from the ordinary course of legal proceedings; but as for what is said of their being against all degrees of honour or riches, it is utterly false.

The time for the general rendezvous being come, they who were of this party, to distinguish themselves, appear'd every one with a paper in his hat, with these words written upon it, The rights of England, and the consent of the people; signifying thereby,

thereby, that their design was to abolish, not only monarchy, but also the house of peers, and to establish a pure democracy. This was what colonel Rainsborough, one of their leaders, assisted by Eyre and Scot, went about soliciting from one regiment to another, stirring up the soldiers against Fairfax, Cromwell, and other general officers.

But Cromwell was resolved to endeavour the suppression of this licence : For which purpose, being accompany'd with divers officers, he with a wonderful briskness and vivacity, rode up to one of the regiments; which wore the distinguishing marks, and commanded them to take them out of their hats ; which they refusing to do, he caus'd several of them to be seiz'd, and knock'd two or three of them on the head with his own hand ; and then the others hearts failing, they submitted to him. He order'd one of those whom he had seiz'd to be shot dead upon the place, and deliver'd the rest into the hands of the marshal, and having dispers'd the army to their quarters, wrote an account of his proceedings to the parliament ; who being very desirous to have this spirit quell'd in the army, return'd him the thanks of the house.

The levellers being thus subdu'd, and the parliament and army being now pretty much

much of a temper, 'twas agreed, that a personal treaty should be offer'd to his majesty, on condition, that as a pledge of his future sincerity, he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four preliminary bills. The first of which was for investing the militia in the two houses: The second, for revoking all proclamations and declarations against the parliament: The third, for making void all such titles of honour, as had been conferred by his majesty, since his leaving the parliament, and that for the future, none should be granted to any person without consent of the parliament: And the fourth, that the houses should have power to adjourn themselves as they should think fit. The Scotch being not inclin'd in this treaty, their commissioners sent a large declaration in very high language to the two houses at Westminster, protesting against the sending of the four bills; and pressing for a personal treaty with the king at London, upon such propositions as should be agreed on by the advice and consent of the two kingdoms. But the parliament was to be aw'd only by the army; and so they order'd the printer of the Scotch declaration to be committed, and then sent them back an answer full of reproach and contempt.

Before we see what reception the four bills met with from his majesty, let us observe how matters pass'd in the army since the late rendezvous. Ludlow, as great an enemy to Cromwell as to the king, gives us the clearest account of the sudden turn of affairs there, which was to the great damage; and even to the ruin of the king's interest; whom therefore I shall follow upon this occasion.

He informs us, that colonel Hammond and Mr. Ashburnham had frequent conferences with the king, who had made such promises to Hammond, that he express'd his earnest desire, that the army might resume their power, and rid themselves of the agitators, whose authority, he said, he never lik'd. To this end he sent one Mr. Traughton, his chaplain, to the army, to advise them to make use of their late success against the agitators; and soon after he earnestly press'd the king to send some of those who attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to Fairfax, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton. He also wrote to them himself, "Conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conscience, to come to a speedy agreement with the king, and not to expose themselves to the fantastick giddiness of the agitators." Sir John Berkley was

was appointed by the king, in pursuance of Hammond's advice, to go over to the army; who taking with him Mr. Henry Berkley his cousin, went over from the island with a pass from the governor of Cowes. Being on his way towards the army, he met Mr. Traughton, on his return, between Bagshot and Windsor, who inform'd him, That he had no good news to carry to his majesty, the army having enter'd into a new resolutions concerning his person. He had not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, "That he was astonish'd at his design of going to the army, for that it had been defeated amongst the agitators, whether, in justification of themselves, the king should be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himself to be. Sir John however resolved to go to the army, and being arriv'd at Windsor, went to the general's quarters, where the officers of the army were assembled. Being admitted, he deliver'd his letters to the general, who receiving them, ordered him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was call'd in, when the general, with some severity in his looks, told him, That they were the parliament's army, and therefore could say nothing to the king's motion about peace, but must refer those matters, and the king's letters to

to their consideration, Sir John then look'd upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance; but they saluted him very coldly, and shewing him colonel Hammond's letter to them, smil'd with disdain upon it.

Finding himself thus disappointed, Berkley went to his lodging; where having staid two hours without any company, he at last ordered his servant to go out, and see if he could find any of his acquaintance. The servant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his master, that he would meet him in such a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted Berkley in general, that he had no good news to tell him; and then proceeding to particulars, said, You know, that I and my friends engag'd ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the rest were not so, we were abus'd: That since the tumults in the army, we did mistrust Cromwell and Ireton; whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we mistrust neither, and that we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagement, to destroy the king and his posterity; to which purpose Ireton has made two propositions this afternoon; one, that you should be taken prisoner to London; the other, that none should speak with you upon

upon pain of death; and I do now hazard my life by doing it. The way design'd to ruin his majesty, is to send eight hundred of the most disaffected in the army to secure his person, and then to bring him to a trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; and therefore if the king can escape, let him do it as he loves his life."

Sir John being exceedingly troubled at this relation, ask'd his friend the reason of this change, seeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and the officers were become superior since the last rendezvous. Whereupon he gave him this account: "That though one of the mutineers was shot to death, eleven more imprison'd, and the rest in appearance overawed, yet they were so far from being so in reality, that two thirds of the army had been since with Cromwell and Ireton, to let them know, that though they were sure to perish in the enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their sense; and if all fail'd, they would make a division in the army, and unite with any who would assist them in the destruction of their opposers. That Cromwell and Ireton reason'd thus with themselves, If the army divide, the greatest part will join with the Presbyterians,

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and will most proabably prevail to our ruin; or we shall be oblig'd in such a manner to apply ourselves to the king, as rather to beg than offer any assistance; which if the king shall give, and be so fortunate as to prevail; if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can expect. and more than we can assure ourselves of: And thereupon concluded, That if they could not bring the army to their sente, it was best to comply with them, a division being utterly destructive to both.

In pursuance of this resolution, lieutenant general Cromwell employ'd all his thoughts and endeavours to make his peace with the party that was most set against the king; pretending, as he knew well enough how to do on such occasions, That the glory of this world had so dazzled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great works that the Lord was doing. He also sent comfortable messages to the prisoners he had seiz'd at the late rendezvous, assuring them, that nothing should be done to their prejudice; and by these and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the levelling party.

Sir John Berkley returning to his lodg-ing, dispatch'd his cousin to the isle of Wight with two letters; one to colonel Hammond, giving a general account, and doubtful judgment

judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the forementioned general officer, and a most earnest supplication to his majesty, to think of nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning he sent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to acquaint him that he had letters and instructions to him from the king: But Cromwell returned him answer by the messenger, That he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; assuring him, that he would serve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desir'd, that it might not be expected, that he should perish for his sake.

Thus we have seen the motives, that prevailed on this famous general to abandon the king's interest. And much the same account is given by Salmonet, who will not at all be suspected of being partial to Cromwell: So that if he hitherto acted sincerely in his design to serve the king, as is more probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, ascribe to him more refin'd and more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the art of dissimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a dissembler may sometimes be in earnest;

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and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty, that was to be carried on between him and the king, by stipulating such honours and advancements for himself and family, as such a service (viz. restoring the king to his throne) might reasonably lay claim to.

And here I omit another account, that is given by some, of Cromwell's falling off from the king, and deserting his interest. They tell us, that there was a report, that Cromwell made a private article with the king, That if his majesty clos'd with the army's proposals, he should be made earl of Essex, knight of the garter, and first captain of the horse guards; and Ireton was to be made lieutenant of Ireland. Other honours and employments were likewise stipulated for Cromwell's family and friends. But the king was so uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the proposal, he sent her a letter to acquaint her, That though he assented to the army's proposals, yet it by so doing he could procure peace, it would be easier than to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that govern'd the army. Cromwell who had his Spies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon resolved never to trust the king more. This indeed is said to have hap-

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pen'd before the king left Hampton-Court : For upon this, they tell us, that Cromwell fearing he could not manage his designs, if the king were so near the parliament and city as Hampton-Court, gave him private information, that he was in no safety there, by reason of the hatred which the agitators bore him ; and that he would be more secure in the isle of Wight. Hereupon the king, whilst the parliament and Scotch commissioners were debating his answer to their propositions, made his escape from Hampton-Court ; as before related.

I can say nothing to the truth of this story, but leave it to the reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much I may observe, that F. Orleans says, 'Twas believ'd in France, that the king had deceiv'd Cromwell ; though he makes this to be purely the effect of Cromwell's artifice. And the lord Clarendon speaks of Cromwell's complaining that the king could not be trusted, though he makes his whole carriage towards his majesty to be nothing but hypocrisy and dissimulation, in order to bring about his own designs. However I shall set down his words. Ashburnham and Berkley, says he, received many advertisements (which was a little before the king's escape) from some officers with whom they had most convers'd, and who would have

been glad that the king might have been restor'd by the army, for the preferments, which they expected might fall to their share, " That Cromwell and Ireton resolv'd never to trust the king, or do any thing towards his restoration." And a little after, he says, That Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complain'd, " That the king could not be trusted, and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues with the parliament, and treaties with the Presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had concluded a treaty with the Scotch commissioners to engage the nation again in blood: And therefore he would not be answerable, if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation."

Agreeable enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of the lord Broghil, of a discourse that passed between the said lord and Cromwell, whilst he was in Ireland, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord Broghill being in discourse with Cromwell and Ireton, fell upon the subject of the king's death: Cromwell said, If he [the king] had followed his own mind, and had had trusty servants about him, he had fool'd them all: Adding,
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had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but something that happen'd drew us off from it. The lord Broghill seeing they were both in a good humour, ask'd them, Why, if they were inclined to close with him, they had not done it? Upon which Cromwell frankly told him, The reason of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the Scots and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable conditions: But while we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: What it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle npon his head about ten o'clock the following night to the Blue-Boar-Inn in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then at Windsor; and immediately upon the receiving of the letter from our spy, Ireton and

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I resolved to take a trusty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn ; which accordingly we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was shut, but the wicket open, and our man staid to give us notice when any one came with a saddle upon his head. Iretton and I sat in a box near the wicket, and call'd for a cann of beer, and then another, drinking in that disguise till ten o'clock, when our sentinel gave us notice that the man w th a saddel was come ; upon which we im-mediately rose ; and when the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with our swords drawn, and told him we were to search all who went in and out ther' ; but as he looked like an honest fellow, we would only search his saddle ; which we did, and found the letter we look-ed for ; and opening it, read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen, he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots Presbyterians and the army ; that which of them bid fairest for him shou'd have him ; that he thought he shou'd close sooner with the Scots than the other. Up-on which we speeded to Windsor, and find-ing we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately re-solv'd to ruin him.

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• 91.

For a conclusion, I shall set down what Dr. Welwood, in his memoirs, says, concerning this matter. "As every thing, says he, did contribute to the fall of king Charles I. so did every thing contribute to the rise of Cromwell: And as there was no design at first against the king's life, so it's probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is very well known, he was once in a Treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majesty away from Holmby-house, to have restored him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the secret had not been like to take vent, by the indiscretion of some about the king; which push'd Cromwell on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king.

However it was (or these things must still remain in some confusion) it is certain, as the lord Clarendon observes, that a few days after the king's departure from Hampton-Court, and after it was known he was in the isle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windsor (very probably the same which Ludlow mentions, into which Sir John Berkley was admitted) where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to consider what should now be done with the king: And 'twas resolved,

solved, That he should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person. This resolution, however, was a great secret; whereof the parliament had not the least notice or suspicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to do what it never designed.

The parliament's commissioners being arrived in the isle of Wight, presented the four preliminary bills with the propositions on them to his majesty; and the next day the Scotch commissioners waited on the king, and entered their protestation to this purpose, "That they had endeavoured all ways and means with the parliament of England, for furthering a happy peace; but having seen the propositions and bills brought to his majesty, which they apprehended prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union between the two kingdoms; they therefore, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland, declared their dissent." The king having no mind to pass the four bills, and guessing what might thence ensue, began to think of making his escape. And general Fairfax sent a letter to the house of commons to acquaint them, that there had been some meeting in the isle of Wight, with an intention to rescue the king; for which reason he had sent orders to the governor, to have a strict guard upon him.

his majesty's person. Whereupon the parliament agreed, that His excellency be required to take special care, for securing the king's person in the castle of Carisbrook, and that Hammond should obey his farther orders and directions.

The commissioners of the parliament were by this time come back with the king's answer, which importeth, That he had refus'd to pass the bills, or to make a compofute in that way; but had barely offer'd a perfonal treaty. Upon this there follow'd a long debate in the house, and many severe and bitter speeches were made against the king. Among the rest, Cromwell declar'd, "That the king was a man of great parts and great understanding, but withal so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was noo to be trusted." And thereupon he rehearsed several particulars whilst he was in the army: That the king wifhed such and such things might be done; which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: That whilst he preſefed with all solemnity, that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only on their wisdom and counsel, for settling and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he at the same time had ſecret treaties with the Scotch commissioners, how he might embroil

embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament: Concluding, "That they might trouble themselves no further with sending messages or farther propositions to the king, but that they might enter upon those counsels, which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having farther recourse to him." Those of his party seconded this motion with new reproaches upon the person of the king; and after several days spent in passionate debates on this matter, the house of commons voted, First "That they will make no farther applications or addresses to the king." Secondly, That no addresses or applications be made to the king by any person whatsoever, without leave from the parliament. Thirdly, That they will receive no more messages from the king; and that no person do presume to bring any message from him to the parliament, or any other person. Fourthly, That the person or persons who shall make breach of these orders, shall incur the penalty of high treason." And to these votes the lords soon after agreed.

Some give a larger account of the speeches of Cromwell and Ireton in this grand debate. They say, that Ireton was the first that spake with warmth, and that Cromwell seconded him; and that from the king's

refusing

refusing to sign the four acts, they infer'd, " That he had sufficiently declared himself for arbitrary government : " and alledged, " That he was no longer the protector, but the tyrant of his people ; and consequently, that they were no longer his subjects, and that they ought to govern without him ; that their long patience had avail'd nothing ; and that it was expected from their zeal to their country, that they should take such resolutions, as were worthy of an assembly with whom the nation had intrusted their safety." They add, that as these two persons were not only members of the house, but also chiefs in the army ; after they h.d first spoken under the former character, they spake again in the other, to this effect : " That they were well perswaded of the parliament's good intentions, and were assured, that without suffering themselves to be amused any longer, they wou'd defend the nation by their own proper authority, and by the courage of those valiant men, that were enrolled under their banners, who by their mouths gave them assurances of their fidelity, which nothing cou'd shake. But have a care, said they, that you do not give the army, who sacrifice themselves for the liberty of the nation, any grounds to suspect you of betraying them ; and don't oblige them to look for

their own safety, and that of the nation, in their own strength, which they desire to owe to nothing, but to the steadiness and vigour of your resolutions." This was a bold speech, if true; and 'tis farther said, that Cromwell, at the conclusion of it, clapt his hand upon his sword.

Thus the parliament and army were united against the king; and now col. Rainsborough, one of teh chief of the Levellers, was appointed admiral of the fleet; and two or three members of the house of commons of that party were sent down to the head quarters at Windsor, with orders to discharge from custody captain Reynold's, and some others, who had been imprison'd by the officers of the army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themselves were now doing; and to exhort the officers to use their utmost endeavours towards a speedy settlement.

But notwithstanding this conjunction of the parliament and army, they could not enjoy their power and authority without great disturbance and opposition. The votes of non-addresses had exceedingly enrag'd the Presbyterians as well as the royal party; and the people in general began to be very uneasy and discontented. Taxes and impositions were continually increased, and became almost an insupportable burden to the

the nation, and yet there was no likelihood of coming to a settlement for the ease of these grievances ; and most believed there would never any till the king was restor'd. Upon this, the people in many parts of the kin-dom began to exert themselves in the behalf of their sovereign, who, however closely confin'd in the isle of Wight, still held a correspondence in Eng'land, and had intelligence from thence. Several petitions were brought to the parliament by great numbers of people, in a tumultuous manner, for a personal treaty with the king ; of which the chief were those of Surrey, Essex and Kent. And in many places, the people began to think of taking up arms for compassing these designs. Besides, the Scots, pursuant to their treaty with the king, were making all possible preparations for raising an army ; wherein the Pre byterians and Cavaliers joined, tho' with different views ; and the Presbyterians in England, discours'd freely of great hopes from the other kingdom. Thus the dark clouds began to gather apace, and in a short time a second civil war infested the whole nation.

In the mean time, as Ludlow tells us, Lieutenant-general Cromwell procur'd a meeting of several leading men of the Presbyterians and Independant parties, both members of parliament and ministers, at a

dinner

dinner in Westminster, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two interests: But he found it a work too hard for him to heal the differences and animosities of these two prevailing parties, one of which wou'd endure no superior, the other no equal; so that this meeting came to nothing.

Another conference was by his contrivance held in King street, between those call'd the grandees of the house and army, and the commonwealth's men; in which the grandees, of whom Cromwell was the head, deliver'd themselves with some uncertainty, and would not declare their opinions either for a monarchical, aristocratical or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for the nation, according as providence should direct: Whilst the commonwealth's men would have it, that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for the nation, and us'd several arguments to confirm their opinion, recommending at the same time the establishment of an equal commonwealth; notwithstanding which the lieutenant-general profess'd himself for the present to be unresolv'd; and the next day passing by Ludlow in the House, he told him, That he was indeed convinc'd of the desirableness of what was propos'd, but not of the feasibleness of it.

Cromwell,

Cromwell, however, in these times of difficulty and danger, thought fit to court the commonwealth party, and to that end invited some of them to confer with him at his chamber. The next time he came to the house of commons, he inform'd Ludlow of it, who freely told him, That he knew how to cajoie and give them good words, when he had occasion to make use of them. Whereupon with some passion he said, They were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits. At another time he complain'd to Ludlow, as they were walking in the Palace-yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, having made the greatest part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a just cause: But his greatest trouble he said was, That many who were engag'd in the same cause with him, had entertain'd a jealousy and suspicion of him; which he affirmed to be a great discouragement to him. This shews, that notwithstanding his late reconciliation with those call'd Levellers, they still suspected he was not true to their cause; and yet, that he found himself under a necessity of keeping as fair with them as possible.

Tumults and insurrections still increasing, and all things seeming to threaten a new war, Cromwell thought it likewise necessary

sary to preserve a good understanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the house of lords, to assure them of the army's submission, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houses, and by their order. Being likewise afraid of the city, he propos'd in the house of commons to unite the interests of the parliament, the city and the army, and to make them (as he said) invincible, by making them inseparable. So a treaty was set on foot, in which indeed the army was not mention'd, only that the two regiments that had come into the city upon some disturbance there, should be withdrawn; but the treaty only mention'd the two houses, and the city: And this conjunction was sufficient for Cromwell at present; for he thereby prevented the union, which the city was upon the point of concluding with the Scotch royalists; and besides, the power which the army had in the house, was at this time sufficient to secure the city to them. But let us now see, how the second civil war was manag'd, and the great share of success our lieutenant-general had therein.



C H A P. VIII.

The second civil war, and Cromwell's actions in it.

THE first that actually took up arms, were the Welsh; and this they did under the conduct of major-general Laughorn, colonel Poyer and colonel Powel, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's side; but being now to be disband'd by order of the council of war, they refus'd to obey; and the better to secure themselves, declar'd for the king, and acted by commission and powers from the prince of Wales. Major-general Stradling, and other royalists, joining with Laughorn, he soon had the appearance of a considerable army, which very shortly enabled him to possess himself of the town and castles of Pembroke and Tenby; at which time Chepstow Castle was likewise surpriz'd by Sir Nicholas Kemish. The preparations in Kent for a war were less formidable; for great numbers in that county rendezvousing near Rochester, they chose Goring earl of Norwich, who

who was then with them, for their general; and they soon received a considerable addition to their strength, by great numbers of apprentices and reform'd officers and soldiers daily flocking from London to their quarters; which so frightned the two houses, that they presently restor'd to the city their militia; and Skippon being re admitted to the communication of their forces, they interrupted the communication with Kent, by placing guards upon the passages of the river. The increase of the Kentish forces so animated the seamen, that a considerable part of the navy, with capt in Batten, sometime vice-admiral to the earl of Warwick, revolted from the parliament, and put themselves under the power of prince Charles. But the fiercest storm was threaten'd from the preparations in the North, where Sir Marmaduke Longdale and others of the king's party, having surpriz'd the strong town of Berwick, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Thomas Glemham, that of Carlisle, had rais'd a considerable body to join'd with the Scots, who were now about to enter England with a powerful army. Besides this, the earl of Holland, with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Francis his brother, the earl of Peterborough, and some other persons of quality, having form'd a party of about

five hundred horse with some foot, for his majesty's service, appear'd with them near Kingston, and declar'd against the parliament. Several castles were seiz'd and declared for the king; and among the rest Pomfret was artfully surpriz'd by major Morrice: And there was scarce a county in England, where there was not some association forming to appear in Arms for the king.

These vigorous preparations for a war became very formidable to those at Westminster; who hereupon appointed a committee of safety for the commonwealth, which daily sat at Derby house, and consisted of twenty persons, viz. seven lords, and thirteen of the house of commons, of whom lieutenant-general Cromwell was one. This committee had power given them to suppress all tumults and insurrections, and for that end to raise forces as they saw occasion. And then for the more speedy suppression of the several Insurrections, the army was divided, and small parties sent to those places where the royalists were weakest. Fairfax, Lambert and Cromwell commanded the rest, every one marching a several way; Fairfax into Kent, Lambert into the north, and Cromwell into Wales, who was afterwards to march into the north and join Lambert.

The earl of Holland and duke of Buck-
No. 16. Q ingham

i gham were soon defeated by a party of horse and foot that was sent after them, under the command of Sir Michael Livesey. The earl was taken prisoner ; the duke, after losing his brother, the lord Francis, narrowly escap'd, and went over to France. The earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards prince Charles, who with the revolted ships had blocked up the mouth of the Thames, where he lay, some time in expectation, presuming that the earl would not fight him, and perhaps might come over to him : But perceiving by the manner of his approach, that he was mistaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the sail he could for the coast of Holland.

The castles of Deal and Sandwich were reduced by colonel Rich ; and many of the revolted ships not finding things according to their expectation, returned to the obedience of the parliament. In the mean time general Fairfax routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, and drove the lord Goring with his men into Essex ; where, tho' join'd by the lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and others, Fairfax forc'd them to shut themselves up in Colchester, where he besieg'd them, and lay before the place a long time ; but having

ing compell'd them at last to surrender upon such conditions as he would allow them; Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were shot to death by sentence of the council of war, and the lords Goring and Capel, were sent prisoners to Windsor castle. But passing by these things, as not so immediately concerning our present design, let us see what share of glory lieutenant-general Cromwell acquir'd by his successes in this war.

His business, as before hinted, was to reduce the king's party in Wales. In order to effect this, he sent colonel Horton thither before him, with about three thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, he himself following with as many forces as could be spared from the army. Being within three or four days march of the colonel, he received information, that Laughorn with an army of near eight thousand, had engag'd him at St. Fagon's in Glamorgan-shire; that upon the first charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royalists, where the best of Laughorn's men were, with such fury and resolution, that they oblig'd them to give way; which those in the rear, being mostly new-rais'd men, perceiving, they began to shift for

themselves: Upon which Horton's men prosecuted their advantage with so much vigour and success, that the whole body of their enemies was soon routed, fifteen hundred slain, and near three thou'and taken prisoners.

Upon this Cromwell hastens to join him; and in his march comes before Chepstow, where they drew out some forces against him: But colonel Pride's men fell on so furiously that they gain'd the town, and beat the soldiers into the castle; which being strongly fortify'd, and well provided, Cromwell sent to Bristol for some great guns, and hastening into Pembrokeshire, left colonel Ewer to prosecute the siege; who having made a breach on the 25th of May, resolutely attack'd and carried the castle sword in hand; Sir Nicholas Kemish, who commanded there, being slain, and an hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

Cromwell being arrived in Pembrokeshire, first ordered the storming of Tenby with colonel Overton's regiment, and part of Sir W. Constable's, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Read; and so after several furious assaults, the town first, and then the castle surrendered upon mercy.

Laughorn and Powel, after their defeat by colonel Horton, escaped to Pembroke, which Poyer kept for them. Here they thought

thought themselves safe, when Cromwell appearing, besieg'd them himself in person in that place: but that dreadful name did not so discourage them, but that being fully persuaded that the stopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had so much work on their hands out, and defended themselves long enough to have wearied out almost any other man, as little us'd to be baffled as Cromwell. On the contrary, the rumour of the Scotch invasion daily increasing, animated the lieutenant-general to employ all his skill and vigour for the reduction of this important place.

The Garrison within, as has been said, was strong and resolute, and the place well fortify'd, which however he was resolved to attempt by storm; and falling on with singular courage, met with gallant resistance: After which, not thinking it adviseable to expose his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not so well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induc'd to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the small quantity of provisions they had in the town and castle; and then, divisions began to arise amongst them, which at length grew to that height, that the soldiers were ready to mutiny against their commanders;

manders; crying out, We shall be starved for two or three mens p' easures, better it were that we should throw them over the walls.

Accordingly, Cromwell order'd strict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running out ; which order being well observed, they were compell'd at length to desire a parley, and on the 11th of July surrender'd the town and castle to him upon articles. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, and some other officers, surrender'd themselvcs prisoners at mercy. Sir Charles Kemish Sir Henry Stradling, and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within six weeks, and not to return in two years ; and all the rest to have liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plunder'd. The sick and wounded were to be taken care of ; the towns-men not to be plnndered, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly ; and together with the town and castle, the arms, ammunition and provisions were to be deliver'd up to lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the use of the parliament. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel were afterwards condemn'd by sentence of a court-martial ; but having the favour to draw lots which of them should die, the other two to be spar'd, the lot fell

upon

upon colonel Poyer, who was accordingly shot to death in Covent-Garden.

About the time that Pembroke was reduc'd, duke Hamilton entered England with an army of about twenty thousand Scots, who were farther strengthen'd by the accession of about five thousand English, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, very violent in their opposition one to the other; the rigid presbyterians, who so ador'd the Covenant, in the strictest sense of the letter, that they would not depart from the most rigid clause in it, and were utterly against having any thing to do with the Cavaliers in this expedition; and these were headed by the marquis of Argyle: And the Hamiltonian party, who were in effect for restoring the king without any terms, tho' at the same time, in order to the more easy compassing of their designs, they pretended a great veneration for the same Covenant. Now, tho' the former was a strong party, and their number very great; yet the others had manag'd so dexterously in getting such elections of members for the parliament, as might enable them to carry their point, that when it came to a trial in that assembly, the anti-covenanters carry'd all before them; so that instead of the marquis of Argyle,

Argyle, the duke of Hamilton, who was the chief of this latter party, was appointed general of their army, all the inferior officers being of the same mould and principle; insomuch that the pulpits, which before had proclaimed this war, now accompany'd the army that was marching into England, with their curses.

The house of commons receiving intelligence that the Scots had invaded England, declar'd them to be enemies, and order'd lieutenant-general Cromwell to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, Cromwell march'd towards the North with all his power; and sent to major-general Lambert, desiring him not to engage with the Scots, till he came up to him and join'd him. Lambert therefore skillfully endeavour'd, rather to harraf the Scotch army than to fight it; and chose rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and he found his task with them much the easier, by reason of their several unseasonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminishid, and often separated to their ditadvantage; all which was owing either to dark designs in the army, divisions, or weak management.

Whilst

Whilst Cromwell was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treason was fram'd against him by major Huntingdon before-mentioned, with the advice of some mem bers of both houses, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army to advance himself. But it being manifest, as Lud low observes, that the preferring such an accusation at that time, was chiefly design'd to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more easily prevail against them; the parliament thought it most adviseable to discountenance any thing of that nature.

To proceed: Cromwell having join'd Lambert, both armies met on the 17th of August, near Preston in Lancashire. The English in the Scotch army had the honour of the van, and for a time engag'd Crom well's men with much bravery; but were at last so vigorously press'd upon by them, that they were forc'd to retreat to a pass, which they endeavour'd to maintain, whilst they sent to the duke for succour; which he not sending, they began to shift for themselves; tho' Langdale afterwards declar'd, That if one thousand foot had been sent to him, he verily believed he should have gained the day; and Cromwell himself acknowledg'd, That he never saw foot fight

so desperately as they did. The Scots perceiving the disorder their English friends were put into, it made such an impression upon them, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursu'd by Cromwell, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, and many were slain. Several principal officers of their foot were likewise taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. Many of their horse fled towards Lancaster, and were pursu'd near ten miles with great execution.

The duke march'd away in the night, with about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and Cromwell follow'd him with about three thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, killing and taking several in the way; but by the time the rest of his army was come up, the duke recover'd Wiggan, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had some skirmishing with the enemy, who the next morning march'd towards Warrington, and made a stand at a pass, which for many hours was disputed with great resolution on both sides. But at length Cromwell beat them from their standing, kill'd about one thousand of them,

them, and took about two thousand prisoners. He pursu'd them home to Warrington town, where they possess'd themselves of the bridge; but Cromwell coming thither, lieutenant-general Bayley desir'd to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than. That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c. which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thousand compleat arms and as many prisoners, and the duke's infantry was totally ruin'd; who, with his remaining horse march'd towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and kill'd several; and Cromwell sent post to the lord Grey, Sir — Chomeley, and Sir Edw: Roade, to gather all together with speed for the pursuit of the enemy. And so duke Hamilton being press'd upon by the country, fled at last to Utexer in Staffordshire: where, with about three thousand horse which he had with him, he was taken, and sent prisoner to Windsor castle.

Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occasion'd so much terror, was routed and defeated; and what is most remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by Cromwell, with an army amounting to scarce above a third part of the Scots in number

number, if they had been all together; the conduct of this general, and the goodness of his troops, making amends for the smallness of the number, which was not diminish'd half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the English under Langdale had been beaten. And though indeed the circumstances of this victory are variously related by historians, yet all agree in attributing the honour of it to Cromwell. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only some of their horse, which had been quarter'd most backward, made haste to carry news to their country, of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were, for the most part, taken by the activity of the country or the horse that pursu'd them. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his men, who continu'd with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, was discover'd; and being taken prisoner was convey'd to the castle of Nottingham, from whence afterwards he had the good fortune to make his escape.

The Lieutenant-general Cromwell having thus defeated the Scots under Duke Hamilton, resolv'd to prosecute the advantage, by marching with all possible speed against Monroe, who was come into England, as a

reserve

referve to the duke, with above six thousand horse and foot, and had march'd almost to the borders of Lancashire : But having notice him, that Cromwell was advancing towards him, and not thinking he should be able to stand before him, who but just before had defeateſ an army ſo much exceeding his own, he made what hafe he could back into Scotland.

Cromwell having thus rid the whole nation in general of a great fear, and eas'd the North in particular of that grievous burden they groan'd under, by the plunder and oppression of the Scotch army, refolv'd to prosecute his victory to the utmoſt, by entering into Scotland itſelf, that he might eſſually root out there whatever threatned any further disturbance. It was generally believ'd, that the marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progreſs ; for notwithstanding duke Hamilton's defeat, his brother the earl of Lanrick ſtill bore all the ſway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council, and the troops which Monroe had rais'd for the recruit of the duke's army, were ſtill together, which the few forces rais'd by Argyle were not ſufficient to oppose. However, if he did not invite Cromwell, 'tis certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all poſſible

hafe

haste to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Cromwell with his victorious army continuing his march towards Scotland, in his way reduced Carlisle and Berwick to their former obedience, both being deliver'd up to him on composition.

Being just ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the Tweed, and order'd proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them should force from the Scotch people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they should behave themselves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any.

As he enter'd Scotland, he declar'd, " That he came with his army to free the kingdom from a force, which it was under from malignant men, who had forc'd the nation to break the friendship with their brethren of England who had been so faithful to them : That it having pleas'd God to defeat the army under duke Hamilton, who endeavour'd to engage the nation in each other's blood, he was come thither to prevent any further mischief, and to remove those from authority who had used their power so ill ; and that he hop'd he should in very few days return with an assurance of

the

the brotherly affection of that kingdom to the parliament of England, which did not desire in any degree to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." Upon this the earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian party withdrew from Edinburgh; and they who continu'd there were resolv'd to comply with Argyle, who they now saw could protect them.

Cromwell march'd directly for Edinburgh, and in his way was met by many of the Scotch nobility and gentry from the committee of estates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy achievements; acknowledging that his presence would conduce much to the composing of the distractions of the kingdom. Being thus conducted to Edinburgh by the marquis of Argyle, and the rest that came to meet him, he was received there with all the solemnity and respect due to the deliverer of their country. His army was quarter'd about, and supply'd with all provisions the country could afford; and himself was lodg'd in the earl of Murrey's house, where resorted to him the lord chancellor, with many others of the nobility and gentry. The lord provost, with several eminent citizens, came likewise to welcome him thither, and present their service to him. Thus the Scotch Presbyterians, who lately

lately look'd upon the Independent party as the worst of their enemies, now own'd and embrac'd this Sectarian army (as their best friends and deliverers.)

Lieutenant-general Cromwell had not been long at Edinburgh, before he demanded of the committee of estates, that they would seclude from all publick trusts, all who had any hand in, or did in the least promote duke Hamilton's late invasion: To which the committee gave a satisfactory answer. Several other demands were likewise made by him, with which the committee comply'd; and he reserv'd liberty for the parliament of England, to make such further demands as they should think requisite. While he staid with them, the committee sent an order and command to Monroe to disband his troops; which when he seem'd resolv'd not to do, he soon porceiv'd that Cromwell must be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obey'd the orders of the committee.

Cromwell having thus finished what he came about, began to prepare for his return to England! but before he left them, the committee fearing some new disturbance might arise, after the departure of the English army, requested him, that he would leave some forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any insurrection

surrections ; promising, that when they had rais'd a sufficient force for their own defence they would dismiss them, and send them back into their own country. To this Cromwell readily yielded, and appointed major general Lambert, with three regiments of horse for the said service.

Matters having been thus concerted to the satisfaction of both parties, the Scots invited Cromwell and the chief officers of his army to the castle of Edinburgh, whether they were all conveyed in coaches, and were magnificently treated at a banquet prepar'd for them ; and at their departure, they were saluted by all the canon of the castle, and many volleys of small shot. On the 16th of October, Cromwell left Edinburgh, being conducted several miles on his way, by the marquis of Argyle, and many others of the Scotch nobility ; and at their parting, great demonstrations of affection pass'd betwixt them. Soon after, the committee of estates sent letters to the parliament of England, acknowledging, " That they were sensible of the benefit to Scotland, against the enemies of both nations, by the coming thither of the forces under lieutenant-general Cromwell, and major general Lambert ; and that the deportment of the officers and soldiers had

been so fair and civil, that they trusted by their carriage the malignants would be much convinc'd and disappointed, and the amity of both kingdoms strengthen'd and confirm'd; which they, on their part, should likewise study to preserve."

Cromwell arriving at Newcastle with his army, was nobly treated there, and weleom'd with great guns, ringing of bells and other rejoycings. From hence he bunds his course directly to Carlisle, having first order'd some forces for strengthening the siege of Pontefract or Pomfret castle. This place, though not very great, war very considerable for its strength, but most remarkable for the valour of those who defended it, whereby it became famous at this time all over the kingdom. The garrison consisted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horse, all bold and resolute men, as appear'd by their actions. One time a party of horse issuing out of the castle, took Sir Arthur Ingram, and carrying him in, oblig'd him to pay one thousand five hundred pounds for his ransom, before he could get out again. At another time captain Clayton, and most of his troops were seiz'd upon by them, and made prisoners. They likewise fetch'd two hundred head of cattle, with many horses, into the castle, whilst Sir Henry Cholmely

Cholmely lay before it with his forces, to keep them in. But the boldest action of all this (which was indeed a wicked one:) One morning before day, there sallied out about forty horse, who hasten'd away to Doncaster, where colonel Rainsborough, who had a commission to command in chief before the castle, then quarter'd. Being come near the town, three of the party leaving their companions without, with great confidence march'd in, and enquir'd for colonel Rainsborough's quarters; which being inform'd of, they enter'd, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him, from lieutenant-general Cromwell. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their prisoner; but upon his refusal to go silently with them, they ran him thro' with their swords, so that he immediately expir'd. And altho' his forces then kept guard in the town; these bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the castle in the middle of the day.

To repress these insolent proceedings, Cromwell, immediately after he had settled the rest of the northern parts in peace and quietness, came himself before Pomfret; and having order'd the several posts for a close siege, which put a stop to their thus ranging

ranging abroad, he left major general Lambert, who was just come out of Scotland, with a strong party before it, to compleat the work, whilst himself took his march directly for London.

'Twas in this his return from the north that he wrote the following letter.

SIR,

I suppose it is not unknown to you how much the country is in arrear to the garrison of Hull, as likewise how probable it is that the garrison will break, unless some speedy course be taken to get them money, the soldiers at the present being ready to mutiny, as not having money to buy them bread; and without money the stubborn town's-people will not trust them for the worth of a penny. Sir, I must beg of you, that as you tender the good opinion of the country, so far as the security of that garrison is mentioned, you would give your assistance to the helping of them to their money which the country owes them. The governor will apply himself to you either in person or by letter. I pray you do for him herein as in a business of very high consequence. I am the more earnest with you, as having a very deep sense how dan-

dangerous the event may be of their being neglected in the matter of their pay. I rest upon your favour herein, and subscribe my self,

SIR,

Your very humble servant,

Knottingly, Nov.

25, 1648.

O. Cromwell.

For my noble friend, Thomas
St. Nicholas, Esq;



C H A P. IX.

From the second civil war, to the King's death.

BEFORE we prosecute our relation of the proceedings of Cromwell and the army, from his return out of Scotland, to the king's death, it will be necessary to look a little back, and see how matters were carried in parliament.

Soon after the army was remov'd from London, by reason of the late insurrections, those of the secluded members who were in England, ventur'd to return to their former seats

seats, and the Presbyterians began to prevail again in the house; and Cromwell and the other officers who were members of the house, had not been long absent before the common-council of the city thought fit to present a petition to the parliament for a personal treaty with the king, as the only way to restore the nation to a happy peace. This appeared so much to be the sense of the city, that the parliament durst not positively reject it; and indeed the greatest part of them did at this time very much desire the same thing.

Hereupon Sir Henry Vane, with the rest of the army-party in the house, were forced to contrive some specious way to delay it, by seeming to consent to it. And so a committee of the commons being appointed to confer with a committee of the city, about means to provide for the king's safety during the time of the treaty, the former perplexed the other with various questions, to which they knew there could be no answer given without first calling another common-council to receive further instructions. By this device, and by starting new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the desired delays obtained. However, the parliament at last declared, "That they would enter into a personal treaty with his majesty

majesty for settling the peace of the kingdom ; and that the treaty should be in the isle of Wight, where his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom and safety." And commissioners were sent from both houses to inform the king, " That the Parliament desir'd a treaty with his Majesty upon the propositions temper'd to him at Hampton-Court, and such others as shoulb be presented to him."

They were no sooner returned from the isle of White with the king's answer, but the parliament had notice of the defeat of the Scotch army ; and Cromwell had writ to his friends, " That it would be such a perpetual ignominy to the parliament, that no body absoad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no more addresses to the king ; conjuring them to continue firm in that resolution." But the parliament had made too great a step to go back from what they were now upon, and since the first motion for a treaty, many absent members resorted to the house and promoted the design ; so that they were much more numerous than those who labour'd to obstruct it : And so, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared, " That the votes of no addresses should stand repeal'd ; that the treaty should be at

Newport; and that his Majesty should be at Hampton Court; that the instructions given to colonel Hammond, for the more strict confining him, should be recall'd, that that all whom the king had nam'd, shou'd have liberty to repair to him, and remain with him undisturb'd" Then they nominated five lords and ten of the house of commons to be their commissioners to treat with the king, and ordered them to hasten the treaty with all possible expedition: But Sir Hen, y Vane being one of them, us'd all his arts to delay it, as he had done before with the parliament, i, hopes that Cromwell would finish matters in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual means to obstruct it, than he was furnished with. Cromwell was very well apprized of these proceedings, which made him think, that his presence at the parliament was so necessary to restrain the Presbyterians, who ceas'd not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevailed with to tarry and finish that only difficulty w^{ch} remain'd, viz. the reducing Pomsret-Cast'e; but leaving it to Lambert, continued his march for London, as before related.

Forty days were appointed for the treaty; which being expired, and all men thi king the treaty was ended, the commissioners receiv'd

consideration in the house, the large remonstrance of the army was brought from the head-quarters, which was now at Windsor, to the house of commons; in which they desired, “ That the parliament should lay aside all further proceedings in this treaty, and return to their vote of no address; that the king might come no more to government, but be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all the evils in the kingdom; that a day might be set for the prince and the duke of York to appear and answer to such things as might be laid to their charge, and if they fail'd herein, they might be declar'd traitors: That an end might be put to this parliament, and new representatives of the people chosen, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation: That no king might be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and in trust for the people, &c. In conclusion, they press these things, as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants, and trustees for the kingdom.

This remonstrance put the house into a great confusion; but that which occasion'd the greatest consternation, was the news from the isl: of Wight, that H. Hammond was discharged, and colonel Ewer had carried

away the king to Hurst-Castle. Upon this, the house, which was then in the heat of the debate upon the king's answer, immediately desisted and voted, " That the carrying the king to Hurst-Castle, was without their advice and consent ; and sent a letter to the general, That the orders and instructions to colonel Ewer were contrary to those given to colonel Hammond ; and therefore it was the pleasure of the house, that he should recal those orders, and that colonel Hammond should again resume the care of the king's person." But the general (who hitherto agreed in every thing with the army) in return, demanded the arrears due to the army ; and declared, That unless there were present money sent for that purpose, he should be obliged to remove the army nearer London. At the same time the army sent a new declaration to the house, in pursuance of their late remonstrance ; which the house remov'd, " That the army might be declared traitors, if they presumed to march nearer London than they were at present ; and that an impeachment of high-treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it." Hereupon the general marched directly to London, and quarter'd at White-hall ; and other officers with their troops in Durham-house, the Meuse, Covent-garden,

den, and St. James's; and to supply the present necessity, and prevent all inconveniences, they sent to the city for forty thousand pounds to be issued out without delay for the army.

Notwithstanding all this, the party in the house who were friends to the treaty, resolved still to exert themselves; upon which there followed a violent struggle between them and those on the contrary side, which continu'd a whole day and night together: And about five in the morning, Dec. 5, they first put the question. Whether the question should be put? and carried it by a hundred and forty voices against a hundred and four; so that they pass'd the grand question, and voted without dividing, That his majesty's concessions to the propositions upon the treaty, were sufficient grounds for the parliament to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. And to prevent any after-claps, they appointed a committee to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the parliament; and then adjourn'd till the next morning.

The officers and army finding the parliament thus resolute in opposing their designs, and that their coming into the city was not a sufficient check upon them, resolv'd now

to exert themselves to purpose. Accordingly some regiments of horse and foot being sent to Westminster, they set guards upon all the avenues to the parliament house, and seized upon one and forty of the members, as they were entering. And as they made prisoners of these, so about an hundred more were denied entrance into the house; whereupon the rest of the Presbyterian party being somewhat dismay'd at the treatment of their fellow members, declin'd coming to the house, leaving it to the possession of about an hundred and fifty; who being for the most part officers of the army, were dispose to do every thing according to the direction of their leaders.

The army having thus purged the house from all they either knew or suspected to be enemies to their designs, lieutenant-colonel Axel came in, and presented to the remaining members the proposals of the army letting forth, "That they had for a long while fidly beheld and tasted, in their proceedings, the miserable effects of counsels divided and corrupted by faction, and personal interest; and desiring, that all faithful members would acquit themselves by a protestation of their not concurring in the late proceedings, and would then speedily and vigorously proceed to take order for the execution of justice.

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The night after this interruption was given to the house, lieutenant-general Cromwell arrived in town, and lay at Whitehall; and the next day taking his place in parliament, he had the hearty thanks of the house given him for his great and faithful services performed for the nation; which he receiv'd with the greatest appearance of humility (as he was used to do) not taking to himself the least of all those great things performed by him; but ascribing them wholly to God, the giver of all victory.]

Cromwell, tho' absent, is generally suppos'd to have influenc'd in all the late proceedings, and to be the chief promoter of them. 'Tis said, that at the league before Pometret, he induc'd all the regiments under him to petition against the treaty, and for justice on the king; that 'twas by his advice and direction that the remonstrance of the army was drawn up and presented to the house; and some say, that 'twas he that sent-colonel Ewer to remove the king to Hurst-castle. 'Tis certain, that both he and his son-in-law Ireton had a very great influence upon the general, and could manage him almost in every thing as they pleas'd. However it was, Cromwell, upon his arrival, declar'd at White-hall, and other places, That he had not been acquainted with the design (of the army's inter-

interrupting the house); yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and wou'd endeavour to maintain it.

The remnant of the house of commons immediately renew'd their votes of Non-addresses to the king, and annull'd all those that introduced and succeeded the treaty; and particularly resolv'd, That the king's answer to their propositions was not satisfactory. Soon after it was moved in the house, to proceed capitally against the king, when Cromwell stood up and declar'd, "That if any man mov'd this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he would pray God to bless their counsels, tho' he was not provided on the sudden to give them counsel." On December 16th, a party of horse was sent over to Hurst-castle, to bring the king to Windsor; who lay at Farnham on the 22d, and was deliver'd up at Windsor-castle the day following, colonel Harrison commanding the guards about him. Soon after, the council of war order'd, That nothing should be done upon the knee to the king; that all ceremonieſ of state us'd to him should be left off, and his attendance should be with fewer persons, and at less charge.

Next day the committee of the commons, which had been appointed to draw up a charge against the king, reported an ordinance for impeaching Charles Stuart king of England of high treason; and for trying him by commissioners to be nominated in the said ordinance; which being agreed to by the commons, was on January 2d, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the commons pass'd these remarkable votes; First, That the people are, under God, the original of all just power. Secondly, That the commons of England, being chosen by, and representing the People, are the supreme power of the Nation. Thirdly, That whatsoever is enacted or declared for law, by the house of commons assembled in parliament, hath the force of law, tho' the consent of the king and house of peers be not had thereunto.

Then they proceeded to constitute and erect a court, to be called the high court of justice, which should have authority to try the king, and to examine witnesses for that purpose. The number of the commissioners nominated were a hundred and thirty five, whereof twenty or more had power to proceed. They consisted promiscuously of members of the house, officers of the army, citizens and country gentle-

gentlemen. About fifty that were nam'd, refus'd to act, of which number were the speaker Lenthal; and general Fairfax. Of those who acted, lieutenant-general Cromwell, and commissary-general Ireton were next the president. The commissioners made choice of serjeant Bradshaw for that office, and nominated Mr. Steel to be attorney-general, Mr. Cook solicitor, Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ask to be pleaders against the king; and Westminster-hall was appointed to be the place of trial: In order to which solemn transaction, the king was brought from Windsor to St. James's by colonel Harrison.

On the way, Harrison observed, that the king was under an apprehension of a fix'd purpose to murder him; and that he let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination, which could never be safe to the person that undertook it: Whereupon he took occasion to assure him, That he needed not to entertain any such imagination; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention; that whatever the parliament resolv'd to do would be very publick, and in a way of justice, which the world should be witness; and that they would never endure a thought of secret violence. But his Majesty could not believe him;

nor

nor did he imagine they would ever venture to proceed against him in the way of a publick trial, before all the people.

All the king's friends both at home and abroad now give him for lost; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmost efforts to save him. The states-general ordered their ambassador to represent to the parliament, that the course they were going to take with the king, would be a lasting reproach to the Protestant interest. The prince of Wales, and prince of Orange, daily sent, as agents, the kindred and relations of Cromwell, Ireton, and other judges appointed to try his majesty, with commission to offer any thing, and to make any promises to save his life, or at least to put off the judgment: And the prince wrote a very pathetical letter to general Fairfax, in his father's behalf. The duke of Richmond, the marques of Hertford, the earls of Lindsey and Southampton, as is said, generously offer'd their own heads to save the king, and would have undertook to suffer in his stead for whatever he had done amiss. Almost all the Presbyterian ministers in the city, and very many out of the country, and some even of the Independents, declared against the design in their sermons, in petitions, protestations, and publick remonstrances. And the Scots at the same time sent commissioners in great

haste, to declare and protest against this unheard of attempt.

These Commissioners, as bishop Burnet informs us, came also to Cromwell to argue the matter with him. They highly blamed indeed many of the king's actions, and in a heavy languid style charg'd him with very great crimes: But still they insisted on that clause in the covenant, whereby they solemnly swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his majesty's person: Upon which they observ'd, on what conditions Scotland, as wel' as the parliament of England, had engag'd in the war; and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to his majesty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the scandal and reproach of the Christian name, to have been false pretences, if now the king was in their hands, they should proceed to extremities.

Hereupon Cromwell held a long discourse with them concerning the nature of the regal power; and declar'd 'twas his opinion, that a breach of trust in a king, deserved greater punishment than any other crime. And then, as to their covenant, he said, they swore to preserve the king's person in defence of the true religion; so that if it was manifest, that the establishing of the true religion was hinder'd by the king, so that it could

could not be effected without removing him, then their oaths could not oblige them to the preserving him any longer. He further said, they were bound by their covenant to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment; and was this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom public justice had taken place, especially those who suffer'd for joining with Montross, but small offenders, who had acted by commission from the king, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty? Thus Cromwell had manifestly the better of them at their own weapons, and upon their own principles.

All endeavours being ineffectual, and the court having finish'd all the necessary preparations, the king's trial began on Saturday t' e 20th of January: The substance of the charge against him was, " That he had endeavour'd to set up a tyrannical power; and to that end, had rais'd and maintain'd in the land a cruel war against the parliament; whereby the country had been miserably wasted, the public treasure exhausted, thousands of people had lost their lives, and innumerable other mischiefs committed." The commissioners for trying him being met in Westminster-Hall, on the aforesaid day, the court order'd the serjeant at arms

arms to send for their prisoner from Sir Robert Cotton's house, whither he had been removed; who accordingly was brought up in the face of the court by colonel Tomlinson, under a strong guard, and deliver'd to the serjeant at arms, who conducted him to the bar, where a crimson velvet chair was plac'd for him. Having heard his charge read, he refus'd to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he should know by what lawful authority he was brought thither; and the answer given not satisfying him, he persisted in that refusal. The same he did on Monday January 22d, when he was a second time brought before the court; as also the next day, being the third time. Finally, on January 27th, the king being a fourth time brought into the court, desir'd, before sentence was pass'd against him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber; with design, as 'tis thought, to have resign'd his crown to his son, the prince of Wales: Upon which the judges retir'd for half an hour to consider of his request; and then returning they order'd the king to be brought again to the bar, when the president told him, that what he had propos'd was but a further denial of the jurisdiction of the court; and ~~ended~~ to the delay of justice; and if he had ~~were~~ no more to say, they would proceed to judgment.

ment. And the king answering, he had no more to say, Bradshaw made a long harangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his discourse mostly on this principle, That the people have the supreme power, and the house of commons is the people. This speech being ended, and the charge again recited, sentence was pronounced in these words; "For all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his head from his body."

Tho' the king was condemn'd, and there appear'd no hope of saving his life, yet still endeavours were not wanting for that purpose.

The following story is told on this occasion, That colonel John Cromwell, a near relation of the great Oliver, came about this time to town, with credential letters from the states of Holland, whereto was added a blank, with the king's signet, and another of the prince's, both confirm'd by the states, for Cromwell to set down his own conditions, if he wou'd save his majesty's life. The colonel went directly to his kinsman's house, who was so retir'd and shut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that 'twas

with

with much difficulty he obtain'd admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually saluted each other, the colonel desir'd to speak a few words with him in private ; and began with much freedom to set before him the heinousness of the fact, then about to be committed, and with what detestation 'twas look'd upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living, he could never have imagin'd, he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had protested so much for the king. To this Cromwell answer'd, It was not he, but the army ; and tho' he did once say some such words, yet now times were alter'd, and providence seem'd to order things otherwise. And 'tis said, he added, That he had prayed and fasted for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the colonel step'd a little back, and suddenly shut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be assassinat'd ; but the other pulling out his papers, said to him, Cousin, this is no time to trifle with words : See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations and posterity, happy and honourable for ever ; otherwise, as they have chang'd their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again ; for this fact will bring

bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface. At this Cromwell paus'd a little, and then said, Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me. The colonel did accordingly, and about one in the morning a messenger came to tell him, he might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been seeking God (a phrase, it seems, very much in use at that time) as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all, that the king must die.

A committe was appointed by the high-court of justice to inspect the parts about Whitehall for a convenient place for the king's execution: Having made their report, it was determin'd, that a scaffold should be made near the banqueting-house for that purpose; and 'twas order'd to be cover'd with black. The same day, Jan. 29th, about threescore of the commissioners signed a warrant for the king's execution, directing it to colonel Hacker, colonel Hunks, and colonel Phayer, or either of them. Cromwe l's name stood the third in this warrant, Bradshaw and lord Grey of G:oby only standing before him. The same

same day the king's children waited on him to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambassador from the states had his audience in the house of commons; whose errand was to intercede with them for the king's life, and to maintain a good correspondence between England and the United Provinces. The next day, being the 30th of January, about eight a clock in the morning, his majesty was with a guard brought from St. James's through the park to Whitehall; where having staid about two hours in a private room, he was led to the scaffold out of a window of the banquetinghouse: And having made a speech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down at the block, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Captain Hewlet was condemned after the restoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons who stood mask'd upon the scaffold, though several creditable witnesses depos'd, that George Brandon, the common hang man, had confess'd and own'd that he executed the king, and that he affirm'd as much to the lord Capel, when he suffer'd by the same ax; and captain Hewlet offer'd to make it appear, that he was not then upon the scaffold, nor near it, nay, that

that he was seiz'd and secur'd for refusing to be there. Notwithstanding this, Hewlet was found guilty by the jury; but was repriev'd; and if we may believe what Lilly writes in his own life, it was the resolute Joyce (who seiz'd the king at Holmby) that struck the fatal stroke. The acconns that Lilly gives, is as follows. The next Sunday but one aft. r Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, secretary to the Lieutenant-general Cromwell, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Piereson and several others along with him to dinner. Their principal discourse was, who it was that beheaded the king: One said it was the common hangman; another Hugh Peters; others also were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, as soon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carrying me to the South window, said, These are all mistaken, they have not nam'd the man that did the fact; it was lieutenant-colonel Joyce: I was in the room, when he fitted himself for the work, stood behind him when he did it, and when done, went in again with him. There's no man knows this but my master Cromwell, commissary Ireton, and myself.

The king, in all his sufferings, shewed a calm and composed firmness, which amazed all people; and the rather, because 'twas

not natural to him. He had many iudignities offered to him; especially during his trial; but he bore them all with a true greatness of mind, without disorder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as bishop Burnet observes, he died greater than he lived, and shewed that, which has been often remarked of the whole family of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chastity, and an utter enemy to all kind of debauchery; and if he had any personal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. The rock on which he split, was an immoderate desire of power, beyond what the constitution allowed. His reign both in peace and war, was a continual series of errors: He was out of measure bent on following his humour; but unreasonable feeble to those whom he entrusted, especially the queen. His friends regretted the ascendant she had over him on many occasions; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious Husband. He had certainly a fixed aversion to popery; but was much inclin'd to a middle way between the Protestants and Papists; whereby he lost the one without gaining the other. In short his whole Conduct

duſt was ſuch, as verified this maxim, That errors in government have ruin'd more princes than personal vices.

Thus have we got over this dark ſcene, in which our lieutenant-general is commonly ſuppoſed to be chiefly concern'd. But as 'tis not ſtrange he ſhould, if the ſtory of the king's dealing deceitfully with him be true; ſo it may more reasonably be concluded, that his ſon-in-law Ireton, rather than he, was the perſon who chiefly influenc'd in theſe proceedings. I know Ireton is ſuppoſed all along to have acted by Cromwell's direc-tions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many caſes be juſtly queſtioned. Ireton was certainly a zealous commonwealth's man; which party was always averse to any treaty with the king; and though he with Crom-well was in ſuch a treaty, yet Ludlow thinks he never really intended to close with the king; but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were con-teſting with the Presbyterian interest in parliament; but he ſays no ſuch thing of Cromwell, whom he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his deſign of making an agreement with the king, be-ing himſelf utterly averse to it, and ſuppoſing Cromwell's main end was to gratify his own ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earnest in the treaty, and also have deſign'd the publick
good

good. Cromwell was certainly no commonwealth's-man, though he was forc'd to humour, and in many things actually to comp'y with the party; and as the agitators and their off-spring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's men in the army, and whom it is likely Cromwell at first might make use of to bring about some of his designs, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; so whatever hand Cromwell had in it, seems to be chiefly owing to their fury and desperate resolutions, which made him apprehensive of the greatest danger, if he did not comply with their designs; though at the time, the contradictions that appear'd in the king's conduct, might the more easily incline him to join purposes with them. In short, what with the danger that threaten'd his person, if he had persisted to oppose the designs of the levellers; what with the enthusiasm, that was so habitual to him; and what with the consideration of the king's past misgovernment, which had been the original cause of all the evils the nation had suffered, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he should be remov'd; he having discovered himself to be of a very inconstant and wavering, not to say equivocating temper; Cromwell was at length

length so wrought upon, as to think it necessary, and so lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the last he seem'd to be pretty active, tho' always in some doubt about it. We are expressly told, he at first shew'd some repugnance to so black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and seem'd to shew his abhorrence of it, and not to surmount it, as he said himself; but only because he saw that the providence of God and the necessity of the times, had inspir'd the army to make so terrible a sacrifice; but that that sacrifice, after all, was the only one that could save the state and religion. And I cannot here omit what bishop Burnet says of this matter: He tells us, that Ireton was the person that drove on the king's trial and death, and that Cromwell was all the while in some suspence about it. "Ireton," says he, had the principles and the temper of a Cassius in him: He stuck at nothing that might have turn'd England to a commonwealth; and he found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that Ireton was the person, who wrought upon Fairfax, and manag'd the affair of the army's remonstrance, and purging the parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' I am far from pretending to justify the whole of

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Cromwell's conduct in these extraordinary transactions; yet I cannot but think, that a greater load of guilt and infamy is usually laid to his share, than he really deserv'd.



T H E
L I F E
O F
OLIVER CROMWELL.

P A R T II.

Containing an Account of his actions, and behaviour, from the time of the KING's death, to the forcible dissolution of the long Parliament.

C H A P. I.

From the King's death, to Cromwell's arrival in Ireland.



A VING seen the actions of this wonderful man, during the life of king Charles, let us now view him under the commonwealth government: But first it may be proper to observe, how this government

vernment was establish'd. The first thing the parliament (for so the remnant of the house of commons now call'd themselves) did after the king's death, was to pass an act, ordaining, " That no person whatsoever do presume to proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, son of the late Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king or chief magistrate of England or Ireland, &c. without the free consent of the people in parliament, first had, and signified by a particular act or ordinance for that purpose; under pain of being adjudg'd a traitor." Then they made another act, " That such as had assented to the Vote, That the King's concessions were a ground for the house to proceed to a Settlement, should be re-admitted to sit as Members." These therefore were commonly call'd the excluded members.

Soon after, Feb. 5. the voted they house of Peers to be useless and dangerous, and an act was accordingly pass'd for establishing it, tho' Cromwell is said to have appear'd for them. And to remove all that stood in the way of their design'd commonwealth, they resolved and declar'd, " That it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, was unnecessary

fary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and publick interest of the nation; and therefore it should be utterly abolish'd." Then the form of government was declared to be a Common wealth; and a council of state was appointed, consisting of forty persons, whereof Cromwell, was one; to whom power was given, to command and settled the militia of England and Ireland, to order the Fleet, and set forth such a navel power, as they should think fit; to appoint magazines and stores for England and Ireland, and to dispose of them for the service of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to sit and execute these powers for the space of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be issued out in the names of the keepers of the liberty of Fngland. And a new oath, or engagement, was prepared, to be true and faithful to the government establish'd without king or house of peers; all who refus'd to take it, to be uncapable of holding any place or office in church or state. If the reader is curious of knowing what persons compos'd the council of state so, this first year, they were as follows: John Bradshaw, Esq; president, earl of Denbigh, earl of Mulgrave, earl of Pembroke, earl of Sa-lisbury, lord Grey, lord Grey of Groby, lord

lord Fairfax, John Lisle, Esq; —— Rolles, Esq; Oliver St. John, Esq; John Wild, Esq; Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq; lieutenant-general Cromwell, major-general Skippon, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir William Massam, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir John Danvers, Sir William Armine, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir William Constable, Alexander Popham, William Purefoy, Isaac Pennington, Rowland Wilson, Edmund Ludlow, William Meveningham, Rob. Wallop, Henry Marten Anthony Stapley, John Hutchinson, Valentine Walton, Thomas Scot, Dennis Bond, Luke Robinson, John Jones, Cornelius Holland, Esqrs.

The new common wealth being thus settled and secur'd, another high court of justice is now erected for the trial of delinquents.

Before this court the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, being brought, receiv'd sentence of death, for being concern'd in the late invasion and insurrections. After judgment given, they petition'd the commons; and so their reprieve or their execution was put to the vote of the house; and duke Hamilton, and the lord Capel was cast, and the earl of Norwich sav'd, by the single vote of the speaker.

the house being before equally divided as to them ; so that Hamilton, Holland and Capel were soon after beheaded in the palace-yard at Westminster.

It must be remember'd here, that when the lord Capel's petition, which his lady deliver'd, was read in the house, many spoke in his favour, and said, that he never deceiv'd or betray'd them, but had always freely and resolutely declar'd for the king : And Cromwell, who knew him very well, spoke so many things to his honour, and profess'd so much respect for him, that all believ'd he was safe, till he concluded, “ That his affection for the publick so outweigh'd his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, Whether they would preserve the most implacable enemy they had : That he knew well, that the lord Capel would be the last man in England, that would abandon the royal interest ; that he had great courage, industry and generosity ; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him ; add that as long as he liv'd, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides : And therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he shou'd give his vote against the petition.” It ought also to be remember'd, that Sir John Owen's reprieve was owing in great measure to the gene-

generosity and good nature of commissary-general Ireton, who observing there had been no application made, nor a word said in behalf of Owen, spoke for him thus, as lord Clarendon tells us, "There have been great endeavours and solicitations us'd to save all those lords; but there's a commo-
ner, another condemn'd person, for whom no man hath said a word, nor has he himself so much as petition'd: Therefore I desire that Sir John Owen may be preserv'd by the meer motive and goodness of the house," which was assented to.

About this time, several things were declar'd by the parliament to be high-trea-
son, and this among the rest, viz. For any soldiers of the army to contrive the death of their general, or lieutenant-general; or endeavour to raise mutinies in the army.

A little before this, Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton went along with White-
lock from the council of state, and supp'd at his house. Here they were very chearsful, and seem'd extremely well pleas'd; and re-
lated many wonderful observations of God's providence, in the course of the war, and in the affair of the army's coming to Lon-
don, and seizing the members of the house. Having thus discours'd together till mid-
night, they return'd home, and in their passage their coach was stop'd, and they

were examin'd by the guards. They presently told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threaten'd to carry these two great officers to the court of guard. Hereupon Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell made himself merry with the soldiers, gave 'em twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing duty. And they afterwards confess'd that they knew Cromwell and Ireton well enough, and were more strict with them than with others, to let them see they were careful of their duty; which they believ'd these great men came at that time on purpose to observe.

Matters being now brought to some degree of settlement, it was thought fit to abolish the council of agitators in the army; lest they, who had been the chief authors in all the late changes, should now take it in their heads to carry matters further than the present rulers cared they should. But these agitators had tasted too much of power, to be willing to be stripp'd of it; but at the same time made a wrong computation of their own strength by the great things they had formerly effected, not considering that their superior officers were now wholly united with the parliament, and entirely concurred with them, in carrying on the same designs. They presently drew up a petition

petition to the lord general Fairfax and his council of officers, against the design of abolishing them; but by a council of war, the subscribers of this petition were sentenc'd to ride with their faces towards the horses tails before the heads of their several regiments, with their faults written on their breasts, to have their swords broken over their heads, and so to be cashier'd the army. Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them in the great Palace-yard at Westminster, to the great exasperation of the Levelling-party, who were resolv'd not so to be suppress'd.

For not long after, there being a rendezvous at Ware, several regiments, among whom was Cromwell's of horse, in pursuance of the foremention'd petition, and to be distinguished from others, wore white in their hats, as they had done once before. Cromwell having notice of the design, order'd two regiments of horse from distant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up, Cromwell, with an angry and down look, rides round, and on a sudden commands one of those two regiments to encompass a regiment of foot; which being done accordingly, he call'd four men by their names out of the body, and committed them to the marshal; and immediately calling

ing a council of war (whilst the rest of their confederates slunk their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at this boldness of Cromwell) try'd and condemned them. But they had the favour from the court of casting lots for their lives, two only to die; and the two whose lot it was to die, were presently shot to death upon a green bank by the other two in sight of the army. A little before, another level.er, one Lockyer, a trooper, for promoting the engagement and agreement, was shot to death in St. Paul's Church-yard.

Notwithstanding these executions, this humour still continu'd in the army, and began to break out with greater violence, upon the parliament's voting, that eleven regiments, by lot, should be sent over into Ireland.

This enrag'd them to that degree, that, finding that instead of reaping the advantages they had promis'd themselves, they were to be expos'd to fresh hazards, and the miseries of a starving war, they peremptorily declar'd against it, as a contrivance to divide them, and gave out, that they would not go for Ireland, till the liberties of the people, for which they first engag'd in war, were secur'd; requiring; That the often promised representative of the nation might be chosen. And finding that dis-

courses

courses and representations were to no purpose they began to have recourse to arms. Accordingly colonel Scroop's regiment, having laid aside their officers, march'd with twelve troops from their quarters at Salisbury, towards Burford in Oxfordshire, in order to a conjunction with those of Harrison, Ireton and Skippon, and a party under one Thompson, then lying near Banbury. This they had effected, if the extraordinary diligence of Cromwell and Fairfax had not prevented them: For posting forty miles in one day, they overtook them at Abingdon, and first offer'd them a treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were done, that neither party might come within ten miles of each other; to which they agreed: But the levellers, under Thompson, who had increas'd their numbers to about five thousand, march'd to Burford; where, while they were securely resting themselves, and their horses put into the adjoining meadows, about 12 o'clock at night colnnel Reynolds fell into their quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them prisoners, and nine hundred of their horses. Thompson took shelter in a wood near Milton, where he fought manfully till he was slain. Of the prisoners three were only executed, who dy'd very resolutely. Cornet Den expressing his grief

and

and sorrow, was repriev'd at the instant of execution; which his companions beholding from the leads of the church, were saluted with a message of decimation, i.e. that every tenth man should die: But at Cromwell's desire they were all pardon'd, and sent home to their own houses. Thus wa. this insurrection quell'd on 15th day of May.

After this, the lord-general Fairfax and lieutenant-general Cromwell visited Oxford, (the university having sent a deputation to invite them thither) where they were nobly treated, and made doctors of the civil law; at which time also, Sir Hardress Waller and Mr. Rushworth, with eight colonels, were created masters of art. Then they visited Portsmouth, from whence they return'd to London in triumph, and receiv'd new marks of honour from the parliament. And now, to promote a lasting union between the three principles of power, the parliament, the army, and the city, it was contriv'd, that the speaker, with the house, the general, with the chief officers, and the council of state, should, after hearing two sermons, be magnificently feasted at Grocers-hall, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council.

This was accordingly done, on the 7th of June; the lord-mayor, as 'twas usual towards

towards kings, meeting Lenthal the speaker, with the rest of the members, at Temple-bar, and there resigning the sword to him; which having again receiv'd, he carry'd before him into the city. And having heard two sermons at Christ-church, preach'd by Mr. Goodwin and Dr. Owen, they proceeded to Grocers-hall to dinner. The speaker sat first; next to him the lord-mayor; then the earl of Pembroke call'd to the lord commissioner Whitelock to sit down as the eldest commissioner of the Great-seal: Whitelock excus'd it, and desir'd the earl to sit down first: But he said aloud, What, do you think I will sit down before you? I have given place heretofore to bishop Williams, to my lord Coventry, and to my lord Littleton; and you have the same place they had; and as much honour belongs to the place under a commonwealth, as under a king; and you are a gentleman as well born and bred as any of 'em. The earl oblig'd Whitelock to take precedence of him, and sat down himself next to him; then the lord president of the council of state and the other commissioners of the Great-seal; then the earl of Salisbury and the lord Howard; after them lieutenant general Cromwell, and other members of parliament, and of the council of slate, &c. The musick at this feast, which was

very sumptuous, was only drums and trumpets; no healths were drank, nor any incivility pass'd. At this entertainment, there was presented by the city to the lord-general a large and weighty bason and ewer of beaten gold; and to lieutenant-general Cromwell three hundred pounds in plate, and two hundred pieces in gold.

Cromwell was now just entering upon a new scene of action, and making preparations for the reducing of Ireland to the power of the new commonwealth: But before we describe his memorable exploits in that kingdom, 'twill be proper to take a short view of the posture of affiirs there for some time past, and the condition they were now in.

The Irish rebellion the most barbarous and bloody that was ever executed in any part of the world, in which so many thousands Protestants were most inhumanly massacred, broke out in Oct. 1741, which tho' it had been contriv'd with such secrecy, and acted with such outrage, yet the city of Dublin was wonderfully preserv'd by divine providence, to be an asylum for such as escaped thither, to avoid the fury of their bloody persecutors. Many of the poor Protestants came over also into England, hoping there to find shelter from the merciless enemy: But this proved little comfort

to those distressed souls ; for here they found, to the increase of their grief, that England was preparing on all sides to act the same upon one another, which the Papists had done against them in Ireland. But tho' the difference between the king and parliament increas'd every day ; yet 'twas so ordered, that some regiments were sent over into Ireland, to stop the proceedings of the rebels.

After the war had been carry'd on for some time in England, the king finding his affairs in a declining condition, and that the parliament gain'd ground upon him, he in 1643, order'd the marquis of Ormond to make a truce with the Irish, that he might have the assistance of those English forces that were in Ireland, in his war with the parliament,

A cessation of arms was accordingly agreed upon ; but the Irish infamously broke the articles of it : For the English being now gone over to England, they on a sudden rose against the marquis, and had surpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before of their design, and escap'd into Dublin : And being in no condition to defend it, but obliged to deliver it up either to the English sent by the parliament, or to the Irish, he gave it up the English (who made colonel Jones governor) and came over to the

the king, at what time he was carry'd from place to place by the army.

The marquis had not been long gone, but the treacherous Irish being terrify'd with the news, that the parliament was sending over an army thither, requested the prince, to whom the marquis had repair'd, to send him back, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to his majesty's authority, and to obey the marquis as his lieutenant, and join with him to expel the parliament's forces. The marquis being accordingly arriv'd, entered into most dishonourable articles with the Irish, who having made a confederacy among themselves, soon became more formidable by the accession of the lord Inchiquin, president of Munster, and the Scots in the province of Ulster. Before the arrival of the marquis, the pope's nuncio, who had been sent over to promote the grand rebellion, and had of late behav'd himself so tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the Irish themselves, was expell'd the kingdom: And now the royalists and Irish being united, Ireland seem'd in a fair way of being entirely reduc'd to the king's obedience. But Owen Roe O'Neal, the best commander among the Irish, not liking the articles of the confederacy, refused to be included in it, and joining with the parliament's forces reliev'd Londonderry, then besieged by the

lord Ardes, Ormond however and the confederates having a numerous army, the whole kingdom was almost reduced by them, excepting Londonderry, govern'd by Sir Charles Coot, and Dublin the chief city, wherein was colonel Jones with no very considerable force, besides that his men were frequently deserting their colours. The enemy with their formidable army was now marching to besiege it, and sent many threatening summons, requiring a speedy surrender of the place; which notwithstanding, thro' the vigilance of the governour, held out to the confusion of the besiegers. But his present difficulties, and the great danger he was in, made him renew his instances to the parliament, in the most pressing manner for speedy supplies of men and provisions; declaring, that else all would be lost. Hereupon the parliament, not insensible of his condition, began to provide for the relief of Ireland with all possible expedition: And appointed commissary-general Ireton, colonel Scroop, colonel Horton, major-general Lambert, with their four regiments of horse; colonel Ewer, colonel Cook, colonel Hewson, and colonel Dean, with theirs of foot, and five troops of dragoons, all old soldiers of the English army, for the said service: And besides these, other regiments were rais'd by beat of drum, to make

make up a sufficient force for effectually carrying on so great a work.

The forces being in a great degree of readiness, the parliament began now to think of a general for this expedition; and having had sufficient experience of Cromwell's great abilities, and knowing no man so fit for the employment, they desired him to accept of it; who not without some seeming reluctance at last undertook it, and after many humble expressions of his own unworthiness and disability to support so great a charge, and for the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence, he acquainted them, that he submitted to their good will and pleasure, and desired them to hasten all the necessary preparations; for he confessed that kingdom to be reduced to so great freights, that he was willing to engage his own person, purely for the difficulties which appeared in the expedition; and more out of hope to give some obstruction to the present success of the rebels, and to preserveto the commonwealth some footing in that kingdom, than from any expectation that he should be able, with his strength, in any signal degree to prevail over them.

The house was so well pleas'd with this answer that immediately after, on the 22d

of June, he had a pompous commission given him in Latin and English, to command all forces to be sent into Ireland, and to be lord-governour both as to civil and military affairs in that kingdom, for three years: And colonel Jones was made lieutenant-general of the horse. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, Cromwell us'd an incredible expedition in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and the drawing the forces together for this enterprise. The soldiers march'd with great speed to the rendezvous at Milford Haven, there to expect the new lord-deputy.

About this time Cromwell had a remarkable interview with the lord Broghill; who having form'd a design of deserting the parliament's service, as the earl of Inchiquin had done, came privately to London, intending to go to the king in France. He was no sooner came to London, but a gentleman came to him from the lord governour Cromwell, to acquaint him that he would pay him a visit, if he knew when he woud be at leisure; at which Broghill was exceedingly surpriz'd, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the messenger he suppos'd he was mistaken in the person he was sent to: But the gentleman convincing him he was not, the lord Broghill own'd who he was, and said he would not give

give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him shortly. The messenger had not been long gone, before Cromwell came himself, and after compliments pass'd, desired to speak with him in private; when he told him, He had a great respect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with something that very nearly concern'd him, and to give him his advice upon it. He then told him, that the council of state were informed of his design in crossing the water (which the lord Broghill had communicated to two or three trusty friends only) that instead of going to the Spaw he designed to go to the king, and take a commission from him to act against the parliament in Ireland: That the council had good proof of what he said, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpose; upon which it was resolved to send him to the Tower; which had been done, if himself had not prevented it, and obtained time to confer with him, to see if he could be induc'd to alter his purpose. The lord Broghill seeing it would be to no purpose to evade the matter, ask'd Cromwell's pardon, thank'd him for his good offices, and requested him to advise him. Cromwell reply'd, That the council of state and he were no strangers to his actions in Ireland; and the subduing of the rebels being

pleat body of fifteen thousand horse and foot ; out of which were drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thousand stout resolute men, for the present service.

With this army, furnish'd with all things necessary, he advanced towards Tredagh, a town well fortified, with a garrison in it of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, a brave experienced soldier. The marquis of Ormond had foreseen, that this place, by reason of its neighbourhood, and situation, would be first attempted, it not being likely that the enemy would leave so considerable a fortress behind them ; and he was in hopes he should have time to recruit his shatter'd army, and repair the loss of the late defeat, while Cromwell should be wasting his forces against a town they believ'd could hold out a month, and before that time be reliev'd : But the event shew'd how much he was mistaken.

Cromwell was no sooner come before Tredagh, but observing the rules of war, he summon'd the governour to surrender ; which summons was slighted, and look'd upon rather as a matter of formality, than that he did believe to have the town upon it. Hereupon the lord governour order'd all things for a quick dispatch of the siege.

Ayscough's

Ayscough's ships blocked them up by sea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red ensign display'd before the town. The besieged were not much dismayed at this, as expecting succour from the marquis of Ormond; and they seem'd to be unanimous in this resolution; rather than deliver up the town, to expire with it; as they did not long after.

For Cromwell being sensible of the mischiefs of a long siege, like an impatient conqueror, would not spend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a strong battery, which soon levell'd the steeple of a church on the South side of the town, and a tower that stood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the East and South walls was demolished, and two breaches made, which some regiments of foot immediately enter'd; but they were not made low enough for the horse to go in with them. Here the utmost bravery was shewn on both sides, the breaches being not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within so furiously charg'd those who first enter'd, that they drove them back again faster than they came in.

Cromwell, who was all this while standing at the battery, observing this, drew out

a fresh

a fresh reserve of colonel Ewer's foot, and in person bravely enter'd with them into the town. This example of their general inspir'd the soldiers with such fresh courage, that none were able to stand before them; and having now gain'd the town, they made a terrible slaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the sword; Cromwell having expressly commanded not to spare any one that should be found in arms; the design of which was to discourage other places from making opposition; to which purpose the lord-governour wrote to the parliament, ' That he believ'd this severity would save much effusion of blood. Alton's men did not fall unreveng'd, for they fought bravely, and desperately disputed every corner of the streets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The streets at last proving too hot, they fled to the churches and steeples, and other places of shelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's church-steeple, resolving there to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible; but they were all quickly blown up with gun-powder, only one man escaping, who leap'd from the tower: The wind befriending him, he receiv'd no further hurt by the fall than breaking his leg; which Cromwell's men seeing, took him up, and gave him quarter.'

In other places when they refus'd to yield upon summons, strong guards were immediately put upon them to starve them out; which soon had that effect as to make them surrender themselves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but small; for all the officers were presently knock'd on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers kill'd, and the rest thrust on ship-board for Barbadoes.

The governour Sir Arthur Aston, here likewise met his fate, being put to the sword among the rest. And thus was this strong place taken and sack'd in less than a week's time, which the rebellious Irish were three whole years in taking. This great action was so surprizing, that O-Neal, at the hearing of it, swore a great oath, That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by storm; if he should storm hell, he would take it. The dismal destruction of Tredagh render'd Cromwell's name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had so much resolution as to expect a summons to surrender; and particularly the garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, fearing the like usage, abandon'd them to the conqueror. In this last place their haste was so great, that they left their great guns behind them, on the platforms. Cromwell did not at that time carry on his conquests any farther northward

ward, but return'd to Dublin, and march'd with his army towards Wexford, that part lying convenient for subsisting his army in the southern countries.

In his march, a place call'd Killinckierick, about fourteen miles from Dublin, being deserted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. Arckloe-castle was likewise abandon'd, and many other places submitted to him.

On the 1st of October, Cromwell with his army came before Wexford, and sent a summons to the governour, colonel David Synder, requiring a speedy surrend're. His answer was somewhat dubious, which occasion'd many papers to pass betwixt him and the lord-general Cromwell. The governour did this on purpose to protract time until the earl of Castlehaven had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garrison; and having now receiv'd these recruits, he resolv'd to defend the place as long as he could, and seem'd to defy all the attempts that might be made against him. Upon this, Cromwell applies himself in good earnest to the work, and bends his greatest force against the castle, knowing, that upon the gaining of that, the town must soon follow. He caus'd a battery to be erected against it, whereby a small breach being made, commissioners were sent

sent from the enemy, to treat about a surrend're.

In the mean time the guns continued firing, no cessation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their post; whereupon some of Cromwell's men enter'd the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it. The enemy observing this, quitted their stations in all parts, so that the others getting over the walls, possess'd themselves of the town without any great opposition, and set open the gates for the horse to enter, tho' they could do but little service, all the streets being barr'd with cables. The town being thus enter'd, none were suffer'd to live that were found in arms; and so they cut their way thro' the streets, till they came to the market place, where the enemy fought desperately for some time; but were at last quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the sword. Ludlow says, that the foot press'd the enemy so close, that, crowding to escape over the water, they so over-loaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being esteem'd by the enemy a place of great strength; and some ships were seiz'd in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. The

lord-

Lord-lieutenant Cromwell appointed commissioners to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the enemy, that they might be improv'd to the best advantage for the publick. The reduction of this place was of very considerable advantage to the conquerors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving supplies from England. And the severity that was exercis'd here, had the same effect with that us'd before at Drogheda; the terror spreading into all towns and forts along the coast as far as Dublin, spar'd the general the trouble of summoning them.

The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet sea'on, Cromwell's troops suffered much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongst them. Many thought these reasons should have oblig'd him for the present to put a stop to his conquests; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of Ormond met with in bringing a new army into the field, after his late defeat, the ancient disagreement again breaking out between the Popish confederates and him, on account of that disaster, the secret intelligence held by Cromwell in the province of Munster, and the mighty affairs that call'd him back over the sea, seem'd to him more powerful motives for continuing

the

Being thus resolv'd, he marches with his army towards Ross, a strong town upon the Barrow. The lord Taffe was governour of this place; who had a strong garrison with him; and the better to secure it, Ormond, Castlehaven, and the lord Ardes, in their own persons, caus'd fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it, Cromwell's army all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However the lord governour no sooner came before the town, but he sent the governour a summons to this effect, ' That since his coming into Ireland he ever endeavour'd to avoid the effusion of blood, having been before no place, where he did not send them such terms, as might be for their preservation; and to continue the like course, he now summons them to deliver up the town to the parliament of England.' No answer was at present return'd to this summons, 'till the great guns began to play; when the governour, being apprehensive of the same usage that other garrisons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allow'd, they came to the agreement, ' That the town be deliver'd up to lord-general Cromwell, and they within march away with bag and baggage to Kilkeeny.' Which fifteen

fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but six hundred of them being English, revolted to Cromwell.

In the meantime Kingsale, Cork, Youghal, Bandon bridge, and other garrisons voluntarily declar'd for the conqueror; which garrisons prov'd of great use to the reduction of Munster, and consequently of all Ireland. Sir Charles Coote and colonel Venable were very successful in the north; and the lord Broghill and colonel Hewson did good service in other places.

Cromwell having made himself master of Ross, caus'd a bridge of boats to be laid over the Barrow, and his army to sit down before Duncannon, a strong fort commanded by colonel Wogan: But this place was so well provided with all things necessary, that it was judg'd it would be time lost to tarry long before it. And so the army quickly rose, and march'd away into the county of Kilkenny; where the marquis of Ormond, being join'd by Inchequin, seem'd resolv'd to give Cromwell battle. His army was strong both in horse and foot, far surpassing Cromwell's, which was much weaken'd by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diseases. Notwithstanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of his enemy, drew off, without making any attempt, or striking one stroke.

Upon

Upon which, Enistegoe, a little walled town, about five miles from Ross, was reduc'd by colonel Abbot; and colonel Reynolds, with twelve troops of horse, and three of dragoons, march'd up to Garrick; where having divided his men into two parts, whilst he amus'd them with one party, he enter'd a gate with the other, taking about a hundred prisoners without the loss of a man.

The news hereof being brought to the lord-general Cromwell, then at Ross, where he had continued for some time indispos'd, he immediately march'd away with his army to besiege Waterford, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces should draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he presently detach'd a regiment of horse, and three troops of dragoons to reduce Passage-fort; which party met with the desir'd success, the fort and castle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being soon deliver'd up to them. But the siege of Waterford was not so successfully carried on; for Cromwell perceiving that the city resolved to stand upon their own defence, and it being now December, and the weather very wet, he thought it most advisable to draw off his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refresh'd against

against the spring, for the better finishing of the work they had so prosperously begun.

In the mean time, a party of the enemy from Waterford, and another from Duncannon joining together, besieg'd Passage-fort; but being set upon by col. Zankey, they were totally routed, a great many of them being killed, and three hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Several other skirmishes were maintain'd with the like success; but the loss of lieutenant-general Jones, who died about this time at Wexford of a violent fever, struck a damp upon all. He was a man every way bold and daring, of wonderful courage and resolution, and yet he govern'd his valour with prudence, being not rash, but advised in all his attempts: The army had a great loss of him, and his death was soon follow'd by that of colonel Wolf, and scoute-master-general Roe. Many of the common soldiers had likewise their share in this mortality, but their numbers were recruited by continual supplies sent from England by the parliament. And now also the Irish, as well as the British soldiers, under the marquis of Ormond, being allur'd by the successes, and wrought upon by the invitations of the commonwealth, as also deterr'd by the plague that rag'd amongst them, together with the want

of pay and necessaries, ran by whole troops to Cromwell's camp; who made very great use of the Irish animosities, and of the jealousies between them and Ormond. He us'd to ask some of the marquis's friends, whom he had taken prisoners, What the marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had receiv'd from him; and then would speak of the hard usage his grandfather had met with from king James, and the long imprisonment he had sustain'd by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial determination, and said, he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet and confer together, they should part very good friends. And many, who heard these discourses, by his permission, gave the marquis information of all he had said.

Whilst the army continued in their winter-quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell would not sit still, but visited all the garrisons that were in his possession in Munster, and ordered all affairs both military and civil. When he came to Kinsale, the mayor of the town (as was usual in other places) deliver'd to him the mace and keys; which he return'd not to him again, but gave them to colonel Stubber the governor. This was the more taken notice of, because it had not been us'd by the lord-lieutenant; but

but the reason of this proceeding was, because the mayor was an Irishman, and also a papist, and so 'twas not judg'd proper to entrust such a one with the government of so important a place.

About this time the parliament being apprehensive of the designs that were carrying on against them in Scotland in favour of the king, and thinking they might have occasion to make use of Cromwell for preventing the mischief that threatned them from thence, resolved that he should be sent over into England, ordering the speaker to write a letter to him for that purpose; but it being towards the latter end of March before he received this letter, and it being not his temper to lie long idle, when he knew he had much to do, he proceeded in his work of reducing Ireland, and was very successful in it.

The month of January was hardly extirp'd, when the army took the field again in two bodies, which he divided on purpose to distress the marquis of Ormond. Himself took one party, and another was led by Ireton, who march'd directly to Carrick, in order to reinforce himself by the conjunction of colonel Reynolds. These were to march into the enemy's quarters two several ways, and to meet together at a rendezvous near Kilkenny. In order to this

this design, Cromwell with his party march'd away over the Blackwater, towards the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. After that, he took Cloghern-house, belonging to Sir Richard Everard, one of the supreme council of the Irish. From thence he march'd to Roghill-castle, which upon summons was deliver'd up to him. Here with much difficulty he pass'd the river Shewr, and without delay march'd away to Feathard, a garrison town where one Butler was governour. Being got into the suburbs about ten at night, he sent a trumpet with a summons to the town; but they shot at the trumpet, and being inform'd that the lord-lieutenant was with the party, they said, That it was not a fit time to send a summons in the night. Upon this a resolution being taken to storm, the governour thought fit to send two commissioners to treat with the lord lieutenant; and after one night spent in the treaty, the town was surrendered the next morning upon articles; which Cromwell the more readily granted them, because he had but few foot, and no great guns nor ladders; and seventeen companies of the Ulster foot were within five miles of the town. The enemy quitted it in some disorder, after which the magistrates sent a petition to the lord-lieutenant, desiring his protection.

The forces having a little refresh'd themselves at Feathard, the general march'd with them from thence to Calan, garrison'd by the enemy. Here he was jo'n'd by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, making up in all a considerable body. The chief strength of Calan consisted in three castles that were in the town; and these the soldiers storm'd one after another, and carry'd them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that short resistance, all who were in arms being put to the sword, except Butler's troops, which surrender'd before the cannon was fired. This so terrify'd some who defended a house about a musquet shot from the town, that they presently sent to desire liberty to remove to Kilkenny, which the lord-general readily granted. The soldiers having sufficiently furnish'd themselves with the provisions they found in the town, march'd back again to Feathard, by the way, taking the two castles at Cno&tofer, and Bully-nard; after which soon follow'd Kiltennon, Arsennon, Coher, and Dundrum, very considerable places.

The lord-governor Cromwell had now entirely subdued all places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Galloway, and Kilkenny. These were places of great strength, and would take up much time; however, he resolved to attempt

attempt the last: But fearing the force he had might not be sufficient to carry on the design, he sent orders to col. Hewson, the new governour of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he cou'd draw out of the garrisons of Wexford, and the other posts he had taken on that side. Accordingly Hewson, after having taken Laughlin-bridge, join'd the lord-governour's army near Gowram, a populous town, defended by a strong castle, whereof one Hammond a Kentishman was governor. Being summon'd to deliver it up, he return'd a very resolute answer, having great confidence in the valour of his men, who were Ormond's own regiment. Upon this, the great guns began to play, and did such furious execution, that he soon thought it time for him to beat a parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than these, ' That the common soldiers should have their lives, and the officers be dispos'd of as should be thought fit.' The place being thus deliver'd up, to which Hammond was enforc'd by the sedition of the soldiers, he and all the commission-officers but one, were the next day shot to death; and the priest, who was chaplain to the popish soldiers in the regiment, hanged.

Aster this, the lord-governour proceeds in his design of besieging the city of Kilkenny.

kenny. The garrison there required a more then ordinary strength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforc'd by those who had surrendere'd upon articles the small towns and castles in that county. But Cromwell, not at all discourag'd at this, on the 22d of March, sent first of all a small party of horse before to make discovery, and shortly after came up with his whole force. Being advanc'd within a mile of the city, he made a stand, and sent a summons to Sir Walter Butler the governour, and the corporation, to deliver up the city for the use of the parliament of England. The answer which was return'd the next day not being satisfactory, Cromwell made his approaches near to the wall, and caus'd a battery to be erected in the most convenient place for annoying the besieged, and opening an entrance to the besiegers. In the mean time the besieged were not idle; but observing where the enemy bent his greatest strength, endeavour'd there to make the greatest opposition, by raising them to retrenchments within, strongly pallisadoing them, and placing some pieces that might play to the best advantage. Cromwell however, having made all the necessary preparations, fell furiously to battering the walls; whereby, after making about an hundred shot, a breach was open'd. In the mean while, colonel

Ionel Ewer, with a thousand foot, was order'd to attempt another part of the city, called Irish-town; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the soldiers were order'd to attack the aforemention'd breach; which they accordingly did with very little loss.

There was on the other side of the river another small town, or suburbs to the main city, and it was thought convenient to send eight companies of foot to possess themselves of it; which was done without any opposition. And this animated them to endeavour to force a passage over the bridge into the city; but the same misfortune happen'd as before at the breach. However, these desperate attempts occasion'd the governour to reflect more seriously upon his present circumstances; for the garrison in Cantwel-castle, whom he had sent for, had desired passes of the lord governour Cromwell to go beyond sea, and enter themselves into the service of foreign princes, engaging never to act against the parliament of England; which request Cromwell granted them.

But that which most of all discourag'd the governour, was, that he must not only defend himself, but must also be his own relief, there being no army in the field sufficient for that purpose.

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These things, together with the consideration, that the longer he stood out the worse he would fare, induc'd him to enter into a treaty; and after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms: "First, That the city and castle should be deliver'd up to the lord-governour Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and publick stores. Secondly, The inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their persons, goods, and estates, from the violence of the soldiery: and such as had a mind to remove, to have liberty so to do, three months after the date of the articles. Thirdly, The governor, officers, and soldiers to march away with bag and baggage. Fourthly, The city to pay two thousand pounds as a gratuity to his excellency the lord Cromwell's army."

Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had been the nursery of the late rebellion, and the residence of the supreme council, reduc'd to the parliament's obedience in less than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable industry of the lord general Cromwell; who would always bear a share in the hardships his soldiers were expos'd to, and never flinch from them at any time when his personal valour was necessary; so that he frequently

laid aside the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private soldier.

Cromwell stay'd no longer at Kilkenny than was necessary to settle the affairs of that city; after which he march'd with the army to Carrick, from thence to proceed upon further action. Here he wrote a letter to the speaker of the parliament, giving a particular account of the taking of Kilkenny, and several other places of less importance. And then concerning his coming over into England, he confess'd he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleasure, as to that matter, and copies of their votes; but all these were but private intimations. He said, that he received not the speaker's letter till March 22d, which was dated Jan 8. and then supposed the army to be in winter-quarters, and the time of the year not suitable for present action: Upon which he concludes thus; " Making this as the reason of your command, (viz. the army being in winter-quarters, &c.) and yoar forces having been in action ever ever since Jan. 29. and your letter which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after our having been so long in action, with respect had to the reasons you were pleased to use therein; and having received a letter, signed by yourself of the 26th of Feb. which mentions

not

not a word of the continuance of your pleasure concerning my coming over; I did humbly conceive it much consisted with my duty, humbly to beg a positive signification; what your will is; professing (as before the Lord) that I am most ready to obey your commands herein; with all alacrity; rejoicing only to be about that work which I am called to by those whom God hath set over me, which I acknowledge to be you; and fearing only in obeying you, to disobey you. I most humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge for me, whether your letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a more clear expression of your command and pleasure; which when vouchsafed to me, will find most ready and cheerful observance from, &c.

About this time, the marquis of Ormond, the lord Castlehaven, and the bishop of Clogher reflecting on the desperate condition of their affairs, appointed a meeting in West-Meath, with the gentlemen of that county, to consider of some better way to support their cause, which was now almost ruin'd every where. In this meeting Ormond propos'd; 'First, Whether they were able to raise such forces, as might be sufficient to engage with Cromwell. Secondly, In case they were not able to fight, whether it were not necessary with all the forces they could

could make, to fall into the English quarters, and there to burn and destroy what they could, that they might not be able to subsist. Thirdly, If this were not feasible, then whether it were not most convenient for them all to join in some propositions of peace for the whole kingdom; or every one for himself, to make his particular application.' This last expedient was most prov'd of by some; but the chief of them being conscious of their own guilt, thought they were not very likely to obtain good conditions when necessity oblig'd them to be supplicants; and therefore to molest the English in their quarters was judg'd to be most adviseable for them all, thereby to protract time till they should have a fit opportunity to escape out of the kingdom.

The lord-lieutenant having wel refresh'd his army after the siege of Kilkenny, march'd from Carrick, and sat down before Clonmel, another considerable place, in which was a garrison of two thousand foot, and a hundred and twenty horse. No sooner was the siege form'd but colonel Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones were order'd to march away with a detachment of two thousand five hundred horse, foot and dragoons, to prevent Ormond's design of falling into the parliament's quarters; and notice hereof being sent to Sir Charles Coote, he thereupon took

took the field with three thousand men. But the enemy shifting from place to place to avoid fighting, colonel Reynolds, that his men might not remain idle, besieged Teorogham. In the mean time, the lord Broghill being detach'd with another party of one thousand four hundred horse and dragoons, and one thousand two hundred foot, to fight the bishop of Ross, who with five thousand men, was marching to relieve Clonmell, he soon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about seven hundred upon the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as also the bishop himself with the standard of the church of Munster. The lord Broghill's horse are said to have done the service before the foot came up, and at such a pass, where a hundred musqueteers might have repell'd all the horse in Ireland. The bishop was carry'd to a castle which was kept by his own forces, and there hang'd before the walls, in the sight of the garrison; who were so dismay'd at it, that they immediately surrender'd the castle to the parliament's forces. This bishop us'd to say, There was no way to secure the English, but by hanging them; and now himself met with the same fate.

These advantages were a great encouragement to those who lay before Clonmell; which

which the lord-lieutenant us'd more than ordinary industry to reduce, understanding that its defenders were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all respects prepar'd to make a vigorous resistance. Besides it was govern'd by an active Irishman, one Hugh O-Neal, who had employ'd all hands in the town for casting up new counterscarps on the inside of the old walls, and doing every thing else that might tend to secure the place; so that it seem'd impossible to gain it by assault:

However, the valiant and active Cromwell, whose business now requir'd a quick dispatch, in regard that his service was likely very soon to be elsewhere, resolv'd to try that course.

And so having summon'd the governor to surrender, and receiving no satisfactory answer, he ordered the great guns to be planted; which did such noble execution, that a breach was very soon open'd, which the besiegers, upon a signal given, courageously enter'd, and met with as gallant a resistance from the besieged; notwithstanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful success, there being a great slaughter on both sides; But at last the enemy was forc'd to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight; and tho' they

they were very much favour'd by some hills near the town, yet could they not escape the fury of the victorious soldiers, who killed many of them in the pursuit.

An eminent commander in the army, who was himself in this fight, gave this account of it: "That they found in Clonmell the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland; and it was his opinion, and of many more, that there was never was seen so hot a storm of so long a continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland." The subduing of this place, though with so much difficulty, made such an impression on many more, that in a very little time they submitted without so much as striking a stroke.

While Cromwell was thus conquering in one part of Ireland, Coot and Venables had the like success in another, and brought all the north under his obedience: The bishop of Cloger was here entirely routed, and being taken prisoner, met with the same fate as the bishop of Ross; and in this fit three thousand of the old Irish rebels were slain.

Thus the lord lieutenant was on all hands attended with success; and he gave a constant account of his proceedings to the parliament and council of state, in all his letters exhorting them to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due. His proceeding

ceeding so prosperously in his affairs, and obtaining thereby so great a sway, occasioned a book to be dispersed about this time, entituled, *The character of king Cromwell*: which, though suppress'd for a libel, is said to have been even receiv'd as a kind of prophecy. And indeed by the good government of the army in Ireland, and the great success of it, and the well ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, Cromwell obtained a very great interest, not only in the officers of the army, both there and here, but likewise in the parliament and council of state, and all their party; only the Scots and Presbyterians were generally no favourers of him or his proceedings.

He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, which he had miss'd of before; and had actually block'd up Waterford, when about the middle of May, he was by a new order, or rather request of the parliament, obliged to leave the finishing of his far extended conquests to his son-in-law Ireton, whom, for that purpose, he constituted lord deputy. He had been Ireland about nine months; a very inconsiderable time, if we respect the great work he perform'd therein, which was more than ever any king or queen of England was able to do in so many years before.

Water-

Waterford was surrender'd soon after his departure; and so remarkable was the parliament's success in all parts of that kingdom, through the active valour, prudence and industry of the lord-lieutenant Cromwell, and those whom he employ'd under him, that in less than a year's time, they were masters of all but Limerick, Galway, and some few garrisons and forces on the Fastnesses. Before the lord governour left the isle, that he might the better weaken the Irish, he contriv'd means for transporting no less than forty thousand of them out of the nation, into the service of foreign princes; of whom few ever return'd again to their native country: So great a scourge was he to that rebellious and blood-thirsty generation.

Cromwell appointed Ireton his deputy and visited those places in Munster, which had lately submitted to the parliament, with design to settle the civil as well as military affairs of that province; for which end he made John Cokes, Esq; chief justice of Munster; and having order'd all things in the best manner that was possible, he embark'd for England; and sailed home, as 'twere, in triumph. After a boisterous passage, he landed at Bristol, where the great guns were fire'd thrice over at his arrival, and he was welcom'd with many demonstrations of joy.

Hence, without delay, he posts for London; and on Hounslow Heath, was met by the lord-general Fairfax, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of people, who came out of curiosity to see him, who had made himself so famous, and acquir'd such high renown by his great and valiant actions. Being thus attended, he proceeds on, and coming to Hyde Park is saluted with great guns, and several volleys of shot from colonel Barkstead's regiment, which was drawn up in the way for that purpose: Thus in a triumphant manner he enter'd the city of London, amidst a cloud of attendants, friends, citizens, &c. and was receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy.

Here 'tis observ'd, that as he did not refuse the honours that were paid to him on this occasion, so he shew'd he had too much good sense to make much account of them; for as he was passing by Tyburn, a certain flatterer pointing to the crouds of people that came to meet him, and saying, See what a multitude of people come to attend your triumph; he answer'd with a smile, and very unconcern'd, More would come to see me hang'd. Being conducted to the Cockpit, which had been prepar'd for his reception, the lord mayor and aldermen of London and many other persons of quality, paid their

their visits to him, congratulating the safe arrival of his excellency, and expressing their own and the nation's great obligations to him. Having resumed his place in parliament, the speaker in an elegant speech gave him the thanks of the house, for the great and faithful services he had perform'd for the common-wealth in the nation of Ireland: After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the present state and condition of that country.

And here, as it will not fall in my way in the remaining part of this history, I shall conclude this chapter with the death and character of the lord-deputy Ireton who died about a year and a half after Cromwell's departure. He had proceeded very successfully in his new government and command; and after the taking of several places, giving articles to some, and making examples of others, he attempted the strong city of Limerick, which after a long siege, at last surrender'd to him: But falling sick of the plague here shortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of November, 1651. This man has been highly extolled by some, and as much condemned by others. So far as we have had occasion to mention him in this history, we have given as just an account of his actions and proceedings as we could; wherein the reader must be left to censure

censure or acquit him as he shall think fit, after we have given this short character of him from Whitelock, who seems the most impartial: " This gentleman, says he, was a person very active and industrious (or, as he says elsewhere, a man of industry and invention) and purposes: He was of good abilities for counsel as well as action; and made much use of his pen, and was very forward to reform the proceedings in law, wherein his having been bred a lawyer was an help to him. He was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in his counsel, and exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth. He married Cromwell's daughter, who had a great opinion of him; and no man could prevail so much, nor order him so far as Ireton could. His death struck a great sadness into Cromwell; and indeed it was a great loss to him, of so able, and active, so faithful, and so near a relation, and officer under him". The new common-wealth had also a great loss by his death; who, to express their gratitude for his important services, ordered his body to be brought over to England; where having first lain in state in Somerset-House, he was interr'd at Westminster among the English kings, with the greatest pomp and magnificence.

C H A P. III.

*From Cromwell's return out of Ireland, to
the battle of Dunbar.*

IN less than a month after the Lord Lieutenant's return from his conquests in Ireland, he was employ'd by the parliament in a new expedition against the Scots; who, upon the king's death, had proclaim'd his son prince Charles, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and sent commissioners to him at the Hague, to invite his majesty into Scotland, or rather to acquaint him upon what terms he might come thither: For though they had declared his right to succession, yet before he should be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he was to " Give satisfaction to the kingdom in those things which concern'd the security of religion, the unity betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of that kingdom, according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant." Whilst these things were transacting, the king began to perceive, that the states-general were very uneasy at his continuance in their dominions, fearing it might give some

some umbrage to the English commonwealth, with whom they had no mind to break. They gave daily intimations, That the king's residing at the Hague, would be very inconvenient for them ; and 'twas owing wholly to the great interest and dexterity of the prince of Orange, that they did not send a message directly to desire him to depart.

However, the king resolv'd to remove; and an accident happen'd sat this time, which hasten'd that resolution; which was the assassination of Dr. Dorislaus at the Hague. This man had been concern'd in the late king's trial; and being sent as an agent from England, for the begetting and continuing a right understanding and fair correspondence betwixt the two republicks, while he was at supper in his lodgings, with many others at the table, six men entered the room with their swords drawn, and bid those at the table not stir, for they intended no harm to any but the agent, who came from the rebels in England, who had lately murdered their king. Hereupon one Whitford pulled Dorislaus from the table, and killed him at his feet, saying, Thus dies one of the Regicides: And so putting up their swords, they went quietly out of the house, and escaped unpunished, though the states pretended they had used

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their utmost endeavours to get them apprehended.

The king left the Hague in May, 1649, taking his journey into France, where he staid some months with the queen his mother at St. Germans: But the court of France growing uneasy at his continuance there, he at length embarked for the isle of Jersey, whieh together with Guernsey, Man, and Scilly, had not yet submitted to the parliament.

It was no sooner known in Scotland, that the king was arrived at Jersey, but Sir Geo. Windram laird of Libberton was sent with a message to him; who, in the beginning of October, presented the two following desires and offers of the states of Scotland: First, "That he would sign the covenant, and pass an act for all persons to take it. Secondly, That he would pass the acts of parliament in Scotland, which were ratified by their two last sessions. Thirdly, That he would withdraw his commission from the marques of Montross. Fourthly, That he would put away all Papists from about him. Fifthly, That he would appoint some place in Holland to treat with commissioners from the states of Scotland. Sixthly, That he would give a speedy answer.

About this time, the rulers in England having prepar'd a fleet against the isle of Jersey,

Jersey, it was judg'd necessary for his majesty to leave that place, and return thro' France to Breda.

Here he fell into new treaties with the Scotch commissioners, who waiting on him about the latter end of March, insisted on his compliance with the following propositions from the kirk and states of Scotland: First, That all excommunicated persons should be forbid access to the court. Secondly, That the king would by solemn oath, and under his hand and seal, declare his allowance of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three nations. Thirdly, That he should confirm all acts of parliament, enjoining the solemn league and covenant, establishing Presbytery, the directory, the confession of faith and catechism in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general assembly of the kirk, and the parliament; and that he would observe the same in his own family, and swear never to oppose, or endeavour the alteration of the same. Fourthly, That he would consent, that all civil matters might be determined by the present and subsequent parliaments in Scotland, and all matters, ecclesiastical by the general assembly of the kirk.

While

While the king was consulting with his friends what was to be done in this exigency, an accident happen'd that had like to have broke off the treaty. Whilst his majesty resided at the Hague, the marquess of Montross waited on him, and undertook, if he would follow his advice, to restore him to his kingdoms by force of arms. He only desired of the king power to act in his name, and a supply in money, with a letter recommending him to the king of Denmark for some ships, and such arms as he could spare.

All these being granted by the king, and preparations made for the expedition, Montross, with no more than six or seven hundred men, in four ships, resolv'd to venture his fortune, expecting to join with the northern people in Scotland, who had formerly experienc'd his great bravery and conduct.

He got first to the Islands of Oreney, and from thence into the Highlands; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken, Lesley having order'd colonel Straughan to advance towards him, with three hundred choice horse; who in April, 1650, set upon this ill composed body of Montross, and utterly routed them. Montross fled, but was at last betray'd by one of those to whom he intrusted himself, Mackland of Assin.

No. 29.

and was brought prisoner to Edinburgh. He was carried through the streets with the most brutal infamy that could be devis'd, and in a few days, by a sentence pronounced by the lord Lowden, was hanged upon a gibbet thirty foot high for three hours; after which he was quarter'd, and his head set upon the Talbooth, and his legs and arms over the gates of Sterling, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeea. His behaviour under all his sufferings was great and firm to the last, as the fury of the covenanters against him was black and universally detested,

The violent party in Scotland were hereupon for breaking off the treaty with the king, though by the date of the marquess's commission, it appeared to have been granted before the treaty commenc'd; However, it was carried not to recall their commissioners. On the other hand, one would think that this cruelty to one who had acted by his commission, would effectually have prevented the king from complying with them. But he was in no condition to struggle with these men, and so quickly yielded to all their demands: And being furnished with some Dutch men of war by the prince of Orange, he embark'd for Scotland; where he landed on the 16th of June, after a demand from the council, That he would sign both the covenants before he set his feet on the

the shore t to which he was persuaded to consent. He tarried several days at Dundee, attended with one committe from the parliament, and another from the kirk, who were urging his majesty to sign several propositions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to Edinburgh to be crowned.

The parliament and committee of estates were likewise endeavouring to raise an army for the king's service, as they alledg'd, and to that end had publish'd an act for training of every fourth man, who was able to bear arms throughout the kingdom. With this army 'twas suppos'd they intended to invade England, and secure the establishment of the king in his throne. The preachers were very earnest in their persuasions to engage the people in this cause; and notwithstanding the several Instructions they met with, by reason of their divisions among themselves, they compleated their levies to about sixteen thousand foot, and six thousand horse.

The king was suffer'd once to come and see this army, but not to stay in it; for they fear'd he might gain too much upon the soldiers. Special care was taken not to suffer maliguants or engagers, as they call'd the Hamiltonian party, to be in this army. All who deserted their cause, or were thought

indifferent

indifferent as to either side, which they call'd detestable neutrality, were put out of commission and now the preachers, thinking they had got an army of saints, seem'd well assur'd of success.

Whilst these transactions and preparations were carrying on in Scotland, the commonwealth of Eng^tland took great care to provide for its own support and security. To this end, as has been already mentioned before the landed in Scotland, it was thought necessary to send for the lord lieutenant Cromwell out of Ireland; who immediately advised the council of state, not to be behind hand with their enemy, nor to trust to any after-game, but to prevent the Scots invasion of England, by carrying the war directly into Scotland: But some scrupulous men amongst hem objected, That to begin a war with Scotland would be contrary to the covenant: To which it was answer'd, That the Scots had already broken the covenant, and that therefore was not now bin'g on the one side, after it had been dissolv'd on the other: So that they came at length to this resolution, That having a formed army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots marching into England, and the miseries that might attend such an Invasion. The lord general ^{Carfax} being advised with herein,

herein, seem'd at first to like the design; but being afterwards hourly persuaded by the Presbyterian ministers, and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared, That he was not satisfy'd, that there was a just ground for the parliament of England, to send their army to invade Scotland; but in case the Scots should invade England, then he was ready to engage against them in defence of his own country. The council of state being somewhat troubled at the lord general's scruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking. This committee were Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, S. John, Whitelock, &c. Cromwell open'd the conference; and after some previous discourse between the lord general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his dissatisfaction; declaring, That he did not see that the Scots had given sufficient cause for this invasion of their country by the English. Upon which Cromwell proceeded thus: I confess, my lord, that if they have given us no cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God

and

and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordship knows they have done since the national league and covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and so the act of the whole nation by their representatives; and if they now give us too much cause of suspicion, that they intend another invasion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the assent or privity of this common-wealth; and are very busy at this present in raising forces and money to carry on their design; If these things are not a sufficient ground and cause for us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our own country, and to prevent the miseries which an invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, i humbly submit it to your excellency's judgment.

That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleas'd to bless us with success against them: And that they now intend a new invasion upon us, I do as really believe, and have as good Intelligence of it, as we can have of anything that is not yet acted. Therefore I say, my lord, that upon these groudds I think we have a most just cause to begin, or rather

rather to return and requite their hostility first begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God shall be pleas'd to assist us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great misery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your excellency will soon determine, whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country, or of our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think it without scruple. But no arguments could prevail on the general, who declar'd that his conscience was not satisfy'd as to the justice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's designs, he desir'd to lay down his commission. Upon which Cromwell spoke again as follows:

I am very sorry your lordship should have thoughts of laying down your commission, by which God hath blessed you in performance of so many eminent services for the parliament. I pray, my lord, consider all your faithful servants, us who are officers, who have serv'd under you, and desire to serve under no other general. It would be a great discouragement to all of us, and a great discouragement to the affairs of the parliament, for our noble general to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commission.

mission. I hope your lordship will never give so great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor so much dishearten your friends, as to think of laying down your commission. But all this would not do: The general still continued in the same mind, and concluded thus: What would you have me do? As far as my conscience will give way, I am willing to join with you still in the service of the parliament; but where the conscience is not satisfy'd, none of you, I am sure, will engage in any service; and that is my condition in this, and therefore I must desire to be excused.

Cromwell and the other officers in this committee were most earnest in persuading the general to continue his commission; and yet 'tis said, there was cause enough to believe that they did not over-much desire it. Ludlow says, that Cromwell press'd the council of state, That notwithstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for his own part, That he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post than to command the greatest army in Europe. He also informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general Cromwell, Who, says he, acted his part so to the life,

that

that I really thought him in earnest. And indeed, if he had not been in earnest, I do not think he would have us'd the most likely arguments to convince the general of the lawfulness of the designed expedition, and to prevail on him to continue his commission; as he certainly did.

The committee having made their report to the council of state, of all that had pass'd, and acquainted them with the lord general's total averseness to march with the army into Scotland; and this being order'd to be again reported to the parliament, new endeavours were us'd to prevail on his excellency, but without success; and shortly after he thought fit to resign his commission. But the parliament were not much at a loss for one to succeed in that great office; for having sufficiently experienc'd the valour, conduct, and faithfulness of lieutenant-general Cromwell, they soon voted, nemine contradicente, that he should be their general; and so an act pass'd, "For constituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, Esq; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by authority of parliament, within the common - wealth of England."

A day or two after, there was a private conference between general Cromwell and colonel Ludlow; the occasion whereof was

this: The general told Ludlow, as he sat by him in the house, that having observ'd an alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that he had entertain'd some suspicions of him; and being persuaded of the tendency of both their designs to the good of the publick, he desir'd that a meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the grounds of their mistakes and misapprehensions, and a foundation might be laid for a good understanding between them for the future. Ludlow answer'd, that he discover'd in him what he had never perceiv'd in himself; yet since he was pleas'd to do him the honour to desire a free conversation with him, he assur'd him of his readiness therein.

Hereupon they agreed to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to retire to a private room; where general Cromwell endeavour'd to persuade Ludlow of the necessity incumbent upon him to do several things that appear'd extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick cause; assuring him, That his intentions were entirely directed to the good of the people, and that he was most ready to sacrifice his life in their service;

vice. Ludlow confess'd his former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were treating with the king, whom he look'd upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprison'd several others, upon the account of that treaty; which he conceiv'd to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends: Yet as they had since manifested their adherence to the common-wealth, he was well enough satisfy'd, tho' some things were still carry'd otherwise than he could wish.

Hereupon (as Ludlow himself, who relates this conference, tells us) the general acknowledg'd, that his dissatisfaction with the army, whilst they were treating with the king, was founded upon good reasons, and excus'd what had been done at the rendezvous, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion; which must have follow'd upon that division, if it had not been seasonably prevented.

He further tells us, that the general profess'd to desire nothing more, than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal common-wealth; acknowledging, that there was no other probable meaps to keep out the old family and govern-

government from returning upon them. Then after a long discourse, favouring much of enthusiasm, after the manner of those times, he added. That it was his intention to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and law: But, said he, the sons of Zerviah are yet too strong for us; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but they presently cry out, we design to destroy property; whereas the law, as 'tis now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor: Affirming, that Mr. Coke, then Justice in Ireland, by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determin'd more causes in a week, than Westminster-hall in a year. He said further, That Ireland was as a clean paper in that particular, and capable of being govern'd by such laws as should be found most agreeable to justice; which may be so impartially administer'd, as to be a good precedent even to England itself, where, when they once perceiv'd property preserv'd at an easy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themselves to be cheated and abused, as now they are.

Before the lord-generals departure for the Scotch expedition, he mov'd the council of state, That since they had employ'd him about

about a work which would require, all his care, they would be pleas'd to ease him of the affairs of Ireland: Which they not consenting to, he then moved, ‘ That they would at least send over some commissioners for managing the civil affairs; assuring them likewise, that the military being more than major-general Ireton could possibly carry on, without the assistance of some general officer to command the horse, which employment was become vacant by the death of the brave lieutenant-general Jones, it was absolutely necessary to commissionate some worthy person for that employment, and to authorize him to be one of their commissioners for the civil government.’ And spoke of colonel Ludlow as a fit person for that charge; telling them, ‘ That tho’ he himself was empowered by virtue of his commission from the parliament, to nominate the lieutenant-general of the horse, yet because the gentleman he propos’d, was a member of parliament, and of the council of state, he desired, for the better securing the obedience of the army to him, that the parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint him to that employment.’ In the end the council agreed, ‘ That the house should be moved to appoint colonel Ludlow lieutenant-general of the horse in Ireland; and that the lord-general Cromwell

well-major general Ireton, colonel Ludlow, colonel John Jones, and major Salway, or any three of them, should be authorised by act of parliament, to be commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs in that nation.' And the parliament concur'd with the council herein, with the addition only of Mr. Weaver, a member of the house, to be one of the commissioners for managing the civil government.

The lord-general Cromwell having thus provided for the well ordering of the affairs of Ireland, on the 29th of June set out on his Journey towards the army in the north. He received great demonstrations of respect from the generality of the people, as he passed along; and on the 4th of July he arriv'd at York, accompany'd with many great officers of the army. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen attended him, and invited him and his officers to a stately dinner, where they were highly caref's'd, and entertain'd with mighty expressions of joy. But having his business chiefly at heart, he staid here no longer than to order supplies for the army, and hasten their rendezvouz.

Before this, the committee of estates in Scotland, seeming to be surprized at the news of the English army's marching northwards, began to expostulate the matter with the parliament; sending a letter to the Speaker.

speaker by col. Grey, to this effect, " That they wondered at the report of the English army's advance towards their country, and that many of their ships were secur'd by the English contrary to the act of pacificating in the large treaty, whereby no acts of hostility were to be used against each other, without three month's warning given before hand: That the forces they were rais-ing were only for their own defence; and therefore they desired to know, if the English army now on their march northward, were design'd for offence or defence; to guard their own borders, or invade Scotland." Letters of the same import were also sent to Sir Arthur Haslerigg governor of Newcastle, major-general Lambert, and the lord-general Cromwell.

On the other hand, the parliament of England, published a declaration of the grounds and reasons of their army's advanc-ing northwards; some of which were to this effect: " First, That the Scots contrary to their agreement, had once already invaded England under duke Hamilton, and were now ready for a second invasion; so that the English were advanced against them only by way of prevention. Secondly, That altho' they could not claim to themselves any authority or dominion over the English, yet in Scotland they proclaimed

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Charles Stuart king of England and Ireland; and since that, promis'd to assist him against this commonwealth. Thirdly, That they declared against the English parliament and army, as Sectaries, ranking them with malignants and papists; and had resolved to impose their form of religion upon the English nation.”

The Scots perceiving that with all their arts the parliament of England was not to be impos'd on, now laboured by all methods possible to render their army odious, and incense the people against them. To this end they said, “That Cromwell had a commission to come for Scotland with fire and sword, and was to give no quarter to any Scot; and that he was to have all he could conquer for himself and his cruel soldiers.”

And they further reported, “That the English army intended to put all men to the sword, and to thrust hot irons thro' the wemens breasts.”

This exceedingly terrify'd the people, till they were somewhat eas'd by a declaration of the lord-general and the army, directed to the well-affected in Scotland, to the following purpose: “That being to advance into Scotland, for the ends express'd in the parliament's declaration; and considering the practices of some in that na-
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tion, whose designs were by unjust reproaches and false slanders to make their army odious, and represent them as monsters rather than men; therefore, to clear themselves, they could do no otherwise than to remind them of their behaviour when they were before in Scotland: What injury was then done either to the persons, houses, or goods of any? Considering this, it was hop'd that the present false reports would not affright them from their habitations." And they further declar'd "from the integrity of their hearts, That such of the gentry and commonalty, as inhabited where the army might come; they being none of those who by their counsels laid the foundation of a second invasion, or clos'd with him who had endeavou'rd to engage foreign princes against the commonwealth of England, and had exercis'd actual hostility, by commissioning pirates to spoil the ships and goods belonging thereto; should not have the least violence or injury offer'd to them, either in body or goods; or if any should happen, upon complaint made, redress and satisfaction should immediately be had. And therefore they desir'd all persons to continue in their habitations, assuring them they should enjoy what they had without disturbance."

Copies of this declaration were immediately sent into Scotland; and the country folks that came to Berwick market, had their pockets fill'd with them, to carry home and disperse among their neighbours.

The general in the mean time leaving York, came to Northallerton, and the next day to Darlington, where, as he pass'd by, the train of artillery, which was quarter'd there, saluted him with seven pieces of ordnance. From hence he posts to Durham, where he was met by Sir Arthur Haslerig, who conducted him to Newcastle, where he was governor, and entertain'd him there with a great deal of gallantry.

Here the lord general and his officers kept a solemn fast, to implore the blessing of God upon the present expedition: And then having duly consider'd the affairs of the army, he settled a method for supp'ying it from time to time with provisions and other necessaries.

This done, the general leaves Newcastle, and hastens towards Berwick, and his brave forces being all come up, he on the 20th of July caused a general rendezvous of them to be on Haggerston-Moor, four miles from Berwick; where he was received by the army with great shouting and other signs of joy. Being all drawn up in battalia, there appeared a gallant body of about

about five thousand horse and eleven thousand foot. The general marched them about three hundred paces, and then dismissed them to their quarters, whilst himself went to Berwick; whence the army's declaration was set into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of estates.

The army being thus quartered upon the very edge of Scotland, the lord-general two days after, drew them out on a hill within Berwick bounds; where they had a full prospect of the adjacent country, the stage whereon they were so soon to act their parts.

Here he made a speech to them, declaring the grounds of their present undertaking, and something in relation to his coming from Ireland, and the providence that had design'd this command to him; and exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a blessing from God, and all encouragement from himself. This speech was answer'd with loud and unanimous acclamations from the soldiers; who being order'd to march, went on shouting as they enter'd Scotland. That night they quarter'd in the field near the lord Mordington's castle; where the lord-general, for

the better preserving good order and discipline, caus'd proclamation to be made throughout the camp, " That none, on pain of death, should offer violence or injury to the persons or goods of any in Scotland not in arms; and withal, that none on the same penalty do presume, without special licence, to straggle half a mile from their quarters."

From hence they advanc'd for Copers-path, and the next day arriv'd at Dunbar, where they were recruited with provisions from the ships sent thither from England for that purpose; for the country afforded them none, the Scotch estates having taken a course before-hand, to clear all the country from Berwick to Edinburgh, of all things that might afford any succour or relief to the English army. But this entertainment did not in the least disourage them, it being no other than they expected.

The army being somewhat refresh'd at Dunbar, marched from thence to Haddington, twelve miles from Edinburgh; and all this without the least opposition, not seeing all this while the face of an enemy in arms; nor did they in all their march see one Scot under sixty years of age, nor any youth above six, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their ministers telling them,

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"That the English wou'd cut the throats of all between sixty and sixteen years old, cut off the right hands of all the youths under sixteen and above six, burn the womens breasts with hot Irons, and destroy all before them." Whereupon, as the army march'd through some towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging them not to burn their breasts before they destroy'd them, and children beg'd them to save their lives ; so much did the people believe what their ministers had told them.

The next day after the army's remove to Haddington, they understood that the enemy was dispos'd to give them battle on a heath called Gladsmoor. Whereupon the English endeavour'd to possess themselves of the place before them, that they might have the advantage of ground in case they shou'd meet them: But the Scots, it seems, thought not fit to appear. Upon this major-general Lambert and colonel Whally were ordered to advance with one thousand four hundred horse towards Musselborough, four miles from Edinburgh ; and major Hains commanding the forlorn, faced the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their trenches. The next day the lord general drew up his whole army before Edinburgh, near which the Scotch army was encamp'd upon a very adyantageous ground.

ground. Here some skirmishes happen'd about the possession of king Arthur's-hill, a place within a mile of the city ; which the English gain'd, having beaten the enemy from it ; and soon after possess'd themselves of a church and several houses. But all these provocations could not prevail on the Scots to forsake their trenches, nor would they by any means be drawn forth to engage in a general combat. The lord-general intended to have made an attempt upon 'em ; but there fell so great a rain, which continued all night, and part of the next day, and his men were so wearied out with hard duty, that he was oblig'd to draw off his army to Muscleborough, there to refresh and recruit with provisions. As he drew off, the Scots, who labour'd all they could to vex and distress the English army, without coming to a general engagement with them, sallied out, and falling upon the rear-guard, put them into some disorder ; but major-general Lambert and colonel Whalley coming in to their relief, routed the Scots, and beat them back in to their trenches.

Lambert was wounded in the charge, and had his horse kill'd under him ; but they took two colours, and several prisoners of the enemy ; whilst the king stoo i all the while upon the cattle, and saw the encounter.

ter. Some few of the English were kill'd, but far more of the Scots, amongst whom were some persons of quality. After this, the English march'd on quietly to Muscleborough, tho' in a very wet and weary condition; that night they stood upon their guard, expecting every moment to be set upon by their enemy; as at last they were: for between three and Four o'clock in the morning, major-general Montgomery, and colonel Straughan, with fifteen companies of choice horse, fell into their quarters with such fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horse in disorder. But the English army taking the alarm, charg'd them so home that they put them to the rout, and pursu'd them within half a league of Edinburgh, killing several officers and soldiers, and taking many prisoners. The Scots, when they fel first upon the English, cry'd out, give no quarter but kill all; and particularly they refus'd to give quarter to one captain Phineas, whom notwithstanding the English brought off. There were two ministers in the Scotch party, and one of them was taken prisoner; and 'tis said the Scotch soldiers confess'd, that the ministers did most stir them up to cruelty. The lord-general, to shew his generosity, sent the chief officers of the Scots who were wounded and taken, in his own coach, and the

the rest in waggons to Edinburgh; which gain'd him great applause, and tended much to vindicate him from those reports that had been given out of his cruelty, whereby many had been prejudic'd against him.

The army having now well spent their provisions, the lord general retires with them again to Dunbar, to meet and take in such fresh supplies as were sent thither by sea, by order of the English parliament. Here they receiv'd their tents and provisions from the ships; and the inhabitants of Dunbar being reduc'd to great want, the general order'd a great quantity of pease and wheat, to the value of two hundred and forty pound, of that which was sent from London to the army, to be distributed among the poor people there. After convenient supply and refreshment, and two days spent in exhortation to the army, and seeking God for his blessing upon their actions, they again advanced towars Edinburgh, where the Scots were keeping a solemn thanksgiving for their supposed great deliverance, imagining the English army was quite gone; and the ministers gave God thanks, for turning back the army of sectaries by the way that they came, and putting terror into their hearts, which made them flee when none pursued. But the sudden return of the army to Newcastle soon made them ashame'd of what they

they had been doing; tho' it seems, Lesley was not so confident, but expected another visit from the English; for upon their return, they found Muscleborough more forlorn than before, he having commanded, That the gude women of the town should awe come away with their gear, and not any stay to brew or bake for the English army on pain of death.

About this time, a trumpet came to the army from lieutenant-general David Lesley, with a declaration of the general assembly, containing the state of the quarrel in which they were to fight; which they desir'd might be publickly known, and was to this effect: "That the general assembly considering there must be just grounds of stumbling, from the king's majesty's refusing to subscribe the declaration concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future in reference to the cause of God, the enemies and friends thereof; doth thereby declare, That the kirk and kingdom will not own any malignant party their quarrel or interest, but they will fight upon their former principles, for the cause of God and the kingdom. And therefore as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, any further than he shall disclaim his and his father's opposition to

the work of God, and the enemies thereof. And withal they will with convenient speed consider of the papers sent to them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from the falsehoods contain'd therein."

To this the lord general thought fit to return them this answer: "That the army continued the same as they profess'd themselves to the honest people of Scotland, wishing to them as to their own souls; it being no part of their business to hinder them in the worship of God according to their consciences, as by his word they ought; and that they should be ready to perform what oblation lay upon them by the covenant. But that under the pretence of the covenant mistaken, a king should be taken in by them, and imposed on the English, and this call'd the cause of God and the kingdom; and this done upon the satisfaction of God's people in both nations, as alledg'd, together with a disowning of malignants, altho' the head of them be receiv'd, who at this very instant hath a party fighting in Ireland, and prince Rupert at sea on a malignant account; the French and Irish ships daily making depredations upon the English coasts, and all by virtue of his commission; therefore the army cannot believe, that whilst malignants are fighting and plotting against them on the

one side, the Scots declaring for him on the other, should not be an espousing of a malignant interest or quarrel, but a mere fighting on former grounds and principles. If the state of the quarrel be thus, and you say you resolve to fight the army, you will have opportunity to do that; else what means our abode here? And our hope is in the Lord &c."

General Cromwell finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to an engagement, on the 17th of August march'd his army from Muscleborough, and pitch'd his tents on Pencland hills, within view of Edinburgh. In this march the enemy drew forth several bodies of horse and fac'd the English, but came not within gun-shot. The army Being quartered on the hills, the lord-general sent out two troops of dragoons to possess themselves of Collington-house.

About this time, a serjeant in col. Cox's regiment, and three soldiers his associates, were sentenc'd to be hang'd for plundering a house and stealing a cloak; which sentence was executed on the serjeant, for a terror to others; but the other three were pardon'd. So careful was the general to preserve the country, according to his declaration.

On the 18th the Scots drew forth on the west side of Edinburgh, between the river Leith, and the sea, to the number of three thousand horse, apprehending the English design'd to possess a pass over the said river. The lord-general seeing this, drew out a forlorn, and went in person before them, to shew how ready he was to fight. Being come near to their body, one who knew the lord-general, fir'd a carbine at him: Upon which, he call'd out and told him, That if he had been one of his soldiers, he should have been cashier'd for firing at that distance. This was all that was done; for the Scots still having no mind to fight, return'd back again to their quarters.

And the next day, part of the English army took the house of Kedhaugh, belonging to Sir James Hamilton. It was a garrison situated within a mile and a half of Edinburgh, and had about eighty foot to defend it; and though the English storm'd it in the sight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve it. Threescore were taken prisoners here; and the place was of great advantage to the English.

On the 26th of August, the Scots sent to general Cromwell, to desire a conference between some of themselves and some of his officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient place appointed, the lord Warrington

stoun secretary of state, Sir John Brown, colonel Straughan, and Mr. Douglass a minister, with some others, attended for that purpose. The chief design of this conference, was to wipe off a pretended apprehension that was cast upon them, and spread over both armies, as if they kept themselves, in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themselves from these calumnies, they assur'd the English, ‘ That when opportunity serv'd, it should be seen that they wanted not courage to give them battle.’

The next morning the Scotch army, as if they design'd so soon to make good what they had said, drew out upon a march; which the lord-general Cromwell no sooner obser'd, but he prepar'd to meet them, hoping now to have some fair play with them. And the soldiers also expected the same thing, being overjoy'd at the very thoughts of engaging; in order to which they immediately took down their tents, laid aside their knapsacks, and put themselves every way into a fit posture to meet and receive their enemy. But the Scots, it seems, had still no mind to come to an engagement; for when the English army drew near them, they found they were separated from them, by a great bog and a deep ditch; so that they could not come at them

engage, without such hazard as were not necessary at that time.

All that the lord general could do for the present was to thunder against them with his cannon. Both armies stood all that night in battalia, and the next morning, the great guns roared on both sides for about the space of an hour; by which one and twenty of the English were kill'd or wounded, but many more of the Scots, who, for all that, would not remove to any other ground to engage 'em, nor join in a closer sigh.

Upon this, the lord general Cromwell marched back his army to their former quarters on Pencland hills; where they were no sooner arrived but they were inform'd, that the Scots had sent out a party to take in Muscleborough and Preston-pans, thereby to cut off provisions from the English army. Hereupon the lord-general gave orders for the army to march that way; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their victuals. But it being a very stormy and tempestuous night, and very dark, he stay'd their march 'till the next morning; when they arrived at Muscleborough without any molestation from the enemy, who in the mean time took possession of what they had left behind them on Pencland hills; and then dog-

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ging them in the rear, watch'd all opportunities to distress them.

F. Orleans gives us this brief account of their various marches of the lord-general Cromwell, in order to bring the Scots to an agreement. ‘‘Cromwell, says he, whose interest it was to endeavour to come soon to a battle, in a country where his army found nothing to subsist on, march'd directly towards the enemy, who lay encamp'd between Edinburgh and Leith, to cover those two places, and the heart of the country. The cunning Englishman try'd all ways to draw Lesly to fight; but he understood his trade, and it being his interest to protract time, so to ruin the enemy's army, which had neither ammunition nor provisions but what came from England at a great charge, and with much difficulty, he kept himself so strongly intrench'd, that Cromwell durst not attack him. The English general us'd all the baits and stratagems known in war, to oblige the Scot to fight him; sometimes drawing him towards Dunbar, as if he would besiege Edinburgh, and again moving to get between Sterling and him.

But the Scot dexterously avoided all these snares; and though the English army kept up close with him, he so ordered his motions, and posted himself so advantageously, that the whole month of August was spent in

in those counter marches, so tedious to a man of Cromwell's spirit, who could never meet with an opportunity either to fight in open field, or attack his enemy in his camp.

By this means, and by frequent skirmishes and harrassing the English, the Scots hop'd at last to tire them out, depending much upon the disagreeableness of the climate to their constitution, especially, if they should keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in those parts. And their counsels succeeded according to their wish; for by this time the English army, through hard duty, want of provisions (the stores brought by sea being now exhausted) and the rigour of the season, grew very sickly, and diminish'd daily; the Scotch army in the mean time increasing, and continuing in good heart,

The lord-general reflecting upon the sad state of his affairs, and considering the weak and crazy condition of his army, resolv'd in this exigency to retreat with them once more to Dunbar. Authors differ as to the design of this march; some thinking it was to receive further supplies from the English ships; others, that it was in order to return into England; and others again suppose, that the general intended, by garrisoning Dunbar, to lie there securely for some time, till

till they might recover strength, and receive convenient recruits both of horse and foot from Berwick. The lord Clarendon says, Whether that march was to retire out of so barren a country for want of Provisions (which no doubt were very scarce; and the season of the Year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary supplies by sea;) or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous post of which they were possess'd, is not yet understood. And bishop Burnet tells us, That Cromwell being press'd by the Scotch army, retir'd to Dunbar, where his ships and provisions lay. This seems to be very true, and that Cromwell was then only on the defensive; but whether at his departure from Muscleborough he had actually design'd to return into England, does not appear so certain: Though Ludlow tells us, that when the army came to Dunbar, they shipped their baggage and sick men, and design'd to return into England; and others say, that Cromwell wanting provisions, was there shipping off his foot and cannon, designing only the next day to break through with his horse.

Whatever the lord-generals design was, he, in pursuance of the foremention'd resolution, on the 30th of August, drew out his army from Muscleborough, and march'd

towards Haddington. The Scots observing the English army to retire, follow'd them close; and falling upon the rear-guard of horse in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming suddenly upon them, put them into some dis-order.

But the Scots, as some say, wanting courage to prosecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overshadowing the moon, gave the English an opportunity to secure themselves and recover the main body. Being come to Haddington where they were in continual danger of being assaulted by the enemy, the general order'd a strict watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. The Scots conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the English quarters on the west end of the town; but were soon repuls'd and set further off. The next day, being the first of September, the Scots being drawn up at the west end of the town in a very advantageous place, the English drew out on the east into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited some hours for the coming of the Scots, and perceiving that they would not fight upon an advantage, they, pursuant to their former resolution, march'd away to Dunbar.

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The Scotch army follow'd at a convenient distance, being reinforc'd with the addition of three regiments; and seeing the English lodg'd in Dunbar, hover'd about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction, and looking down upon them as their sure prey.

The lord general was now in great distress, and look'd upon himself as undone. His army was in a very weak and sickly condition, and in great want of provisions, whereby their courage also was very much abated; whilst the Scots were stout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And besides, they more than redoubled the English in number, being about twenty seven thousand, whereas the others were but twelve thousand. Some say they had in their army about thirty thousand horse and foot; and the English were reduced to ten thousand at the most.

General Cromwell, with this sickly company, was now hemm'd in on every side by those greater numbers of his enemies; who, to make sure work, had also by a strong party secur'd Coberspath, the only pass between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all provisions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the English army,

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who had not above three days forage for their horses.

Thus were they reduced to the utmost straits, so that they had now no way left, but either to yield themselves prisoners, and tamely give up themselves a prey to their insulting enemies; or to fight upon those unequal terms, and under those great disadvantages.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d of September, call'd a council of war, in which, after some debate, it was resolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the several regiments were order'd to their respective posts.

Here we are told by bishop Burnet, That Cromwell, under these pressing difficulties, call'd his officers together to seek the lord, as they express'd it: After which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by prospective glasses discerning a great motion in the Scotch camp; Cromwell thereupon said, God is delivering 'em into our hands, they are coming down to us. And the bishop says, that Cromwell lov'd to talk much of that matter all his like long afterwards.

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The Scots, it seems, had now at last resolv'd to fight the English, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continued, the English could not have gone up to engage them without very great disadvantage. This resolution was contrary to Lefly's opinion; and yet they press'd him to fall on.

The night before the battle proving very rainy and tempestuous, the lord - general took more than ordinary care of himself and his army. He refreshed his men in the town, and above all things secured his match-locks against the weather, whilst his enemies neglected theirs.

The Scots were all that night employ'd in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, before Tuesday the 3d of Sept. before they were put in order, general Cromwell drew out a strong party of horse, and falling upon the horse-guards, made them retire. Then immediately his bodies both of horse and foot advancing, the fight soon grew hot on all sides; till after about an hour's dispute, the whole numerous army of the Scots were totally routed. Two regiments stood their ground, and were all kill'd in their ranks. The rest fled, and were pursued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thousand were slain on the place and in the pursuit, and

ten thousand were taken prisoners, many of whom were desperately wounded. Fifteen thousand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours were taken; and all with the loss of scarce three hundred English. Prisoners of note were Sir James's Lumsdale lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord Libberton (who soon after dy'd of his wounds) adjutant-general Bickerton, scout-master Campbell, Sir William Douglass; the lord Grandison, and colonel Gordon; besides twelve lieutenant colonels, six majors, forty-two captains, seventy-five lieutenants, &c. The two Fleys escaped to Edinburgh which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by its garrison, and Leith, resolved to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out.

Thus this formidable army, which had so lately triumph'd in a confident assurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half so numerous, which at the same time was reduc'd almost to the last extremity. But this extremity making them upon so firm a resolution either to conquer or die, and withal, their falling so suddenly upon the Scots, when they so little expected them, but design'd first to fall upon them, seem to be the true occasion of this wonderful turn of affairs.

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The lord-general himself drew up a narrative of this glorious and memorable victory, and sent it by a courier to the council of state, who order'd it to be read in all the churches of London with solemn thanksgiving: And the colours taken in this battle being sent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in West-minster-hall.



C H A P. IV.

From the battle of Dunbar, to the battle of Worcester.

THIS great success put new life into the English soldiers, who by this means, after having been so long toss'd up and down, almost spent by hard duty, and reduc'd to such extremity, that they were in danger of being starv'd, now met with good accommodation and refreshment, and had an opportunity to furnish themselves with all necessary supplies. Soon after the battle was over, the lord general, the better to improve his victory, and to secure what he had obtained, sent Lambert with a strong party of horse and foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief city, and secure Leith, that

that the English ships might there the more readily and conveniently supply the army with all necessaries.

The Scots, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deserted Edinburgh, Lambert on the same day obtained a quiet possession of it, as also of Leith, in both which places were found several pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a considerable quantity of provisions; which the Scots, by reason of their haste, could not carry away with them. But though the English had thus posseſſ'd themselves of the town of Edinburgh, the castle still remained in the hands of the enemy; which, though judged impregnable, was at last reduced by Cromwell; as we shall see in its proper place.

The lord-general staid some small time at Dunbar to settle matters, and to dispose of the prisoners; who being so numerous, that it seem'd as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them, about five thousand of them, who were most sick and wounded, were set at liberty; and the rest were driven like turkies to Berwick, by the English soldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after Lambert had taken possession of Edinburgh, the lord-general himself came up, and caus'd his whole army to march into that city; which was done without any loss, save that one of the soldiers had his

arm

arm shot off by a cannon-bullet from the castle. And now all possible diligence was us'd in fortifying Leith, it being judg'd to be the best and most commodious sheltring-place the English could have in Scotland, for the winter-season.

On the Sunday after the lord-general had enter'd Edinburgh, he sent a trumpet to the castle, to acquaint the governour, that the ministers who were with him might return to the churches, and have free liberty to preach there; but the ministers return'd him this answer, That they found nothing express'd, whereby to build any security for their persons; and for their return, they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon him who had hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob. General Cromwell reply'd in a letter to the governour, as follows:

' Our kindness offered to the ministers with you was done with ingenuity, thinking to haue met with the like; but I am satisfied to tell those with you, that if their master's service (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of sufferings would not have caus'd such a return; much less the practices of our party (as they are pleas'd to say) upon the ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecutio: The ministers of England are supported, and

have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail; nor under pretence ther of, to over-top the civil power, or d. base it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the gospel; nor has any minister been molested in Scotland, since the coming of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ. When ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement was with their king, and hopes by him to carry on their deligns, they may know, that the Sion promised, and hoped for, will not be built with such untempered mortar. And for the unjust invasion they mention, time was when an army of Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme authority. We have said in our papers, with what hearts, and upon what account we caine; and the Lord hath heard us, tho' you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel. When they trust purely to the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusaleim; then, and not before; and by that means, and no other,

other, shall Jerusalem (which is to be the praise of the whole earth) the City of the Lord be built, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel. I have nothing to say to you, but that I am, Sir, your humble servant, O. Cromwell.'

The Scotch ministers sent an answer to this letter, and general Cromwell another letter in answer to them; in which he says: ' We look upon ministers as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people: I appeal to their consciences, whether any denying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of sectary; and what is this but to deny christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in scripture, that preaching is included in your function? Tho' an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, he hath none at all. I hope he that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he please; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious, tho' Eldad and Medad prophesy: You know who bids us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apostle explains there to be a speaking to instruction, and edification, and comfort; which the instructed, edified, and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of. If such evidence be, I say again, take heed

heed you envy not, for your own sakes; lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproofed in Joshua, for envying for his sake. Indeed you err thro' the mistake of the scriptures: Approbation is an act of conveniency, in respect of order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it, Judge. The ministers still refusing to return to their churches, the lord general caus'd English ministers to officiate in their places.

All the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, together with the committees of the kirk and state, fled from thence to Sterling, where they endeavour'd to secure them selves as well as they could. Hither likewise resorted those who had escaped at Dunbar, and did what they could to piece up their shatter'd army, that by a second encounter they might endeavour to regain their lost credit: To which end recruits were also rais'd by the committee of estates; but it was thought fit to make some change in the officers, not only in the inferior ones, but also in the great commanders: For old Lesley, earl of Leven,

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was laid aside with dishonour, tho' David David Lesley was continu'd.

But all these methods signify'd but little, whilst the Scots were so divided among themselves, and split into so many parties and factions. The ruling party was that which was for the king and kirk; tho' these were again sub-divided into resolutioners and protestors. The resolutioners were so call'd from their adhering to those resolutions, which were pass'd by the committee of estates, and the commissioners of the kirk; 'That those who had made defection, or had hitherto been too backward in the work ought to be admitted to make profession of their repentance; and then, after such profession made, might, in the present extremity, be admitted to defend and serve their country.' Against these resolutions some of those two bodied protested; who, together with those who adher'd to them, were call'd the protestors.

They alledg'd, 'That to take in men of known enmity to the cause, was a sort of betraying it, because it was putting it in their power to betray it; that to admit them to a profession of repentance, was a profanation and mocking of God; for that it was manifest, they were willing to comply with those terms, tho' against their conscience, only that they might get into the army;

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and that they could not expect the blessing of God upon an army so constituted? They had a great advantage over the others as to this particular; for this mock penitence was indeed a very scandalous practice.

These proceedings gave rise to another faction, which prevail'd chiefly in the western counties; where a great many met, and form'd an association apart, as well against the king and the defection in the kirk party, as against the armies of sectaries. These were call'd remonstrators, from their publishing a remonstrance against all the proceedings in the late treaty with the king, when, as they said, it was visible by the commission he granted to James Graham (meaning the marquis of Montross) that his heart was not sincere; and when he took the covenant they had reason to believe he did it with a Resolution not to maintain it, since in his whole deportment and private conversation, he discover'd a secret enmity to the work of God. They imputed the shameful defeat of Dunbar, to their prevaricating in these things: And concluded, ' That therefore, according to the declaration of kirk and state, August 13, 1650, they disclaim'd all the sin and guilt of the king and his house, both old and new; and that they could not own him nor his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt

betwixt them and the enemy, against whom they were to hazard their lives.' The chief leaders of his party were colonel Ker and colonel Straughan. Their Remonstrance, being brought to the committee of estates at Sterling, was after much debate condemn'd as divisive, factious, and scandalous; in which also the commissioners of the kirk concurr'd; but so nevertheless as, if possible, to bring Ker and his party over by fair means; to which purpose several papers pass'd between them; and all methods were us'd to heal these divisions. Besides these, there was another party in the north, who were purely for the king, without regard to the kirk.

Whilst the Scots were thus divided among themselves and their animosities grew higher and higher, the lord-general Cromwell was active with his victorious forces, which rang'd at pleasure about the country. Having his head-quarters at Edinburgh, and having there given his men all necessary refreshment, he drew out the greatest part of his army for Sterling, and with them fac'd the castle, having at first some design to storm it; but perceiving the horse could not well second the foot, he changed his resolution, and returned back to Edinburgh. Whither being arriv'd, he order'd all the boats in the Frith to be carry'd to Leith.

to prevent the Scots ferrying over into Fife, in order to join with the enemy there.

In the mean time preparations were making for the siege of Edinburgh castle; in which the lord general having given the necessary orders and directions, march'd away six regiments of foot, and nine of horse and dragoons, for Glasgow; and by the way of Linlithgow, sent a paper to the committee of estates, to try once more what might be effected by fair means; a copy of which was also at the same time sent to colonel Ker and Straughan, for the same purpose. There was little else remarkable in this expedition but the taking of a small garrison near Kellsith: And it may be remember'd, that when the English came to Glasgow, and saw one of the legs of the late marques of Montross hanging over the gate, they rememb'ring his valiant actions, took it down and buried it privately.

The season now admitting of no considerable action, the lord general returned again to Edinburgh; where he publish'd a proclamation against a company of sturdy Fellows, call'd Moss-Troopers, who very much molested the army, and by the treachery and connivance of the country people, kill'd many of the English soldiers, and grew so bold as to steal some of the train horses. The proclamation was to this effect: "That finding

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many of the army were not only spoil'd and robb'd, but also others barbarously butchered and slain, by a sort of out-law's, not under the discipline of any army ; and finding that all tenderness to the country produc'd no other effect, than their compliance with, and protection of such persons : Therefore, considering that it is in the country's power to detect and discover them ; and perceiving their motion to be ordinarily by the invitation and intelligence of country people ; he declar'd, that wherever these enormities should be committed should for the future, life should be required for life, and a plenary satisfaction for the goods thus stoln, of those parishes and places where the fact should be committed, unless they did discover and produce the offender."

Soon after this proclamation was publish'd, colonel Monk, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was sent to reduce Derlington-house, one of the nests of these Mos-Troopers; which being joyn'd by Lambert, he soon affected, taking all that were within prisoners ; whereof two of the most notorious, with their captain, one Waite, were presently shot to death: After this, Monk taking with him a party of six hundred foot, march'd against Roslan castle;

where, tho' at first he met with some resistance, it was quickly surrendered up to him.

The lord-general, who would not let slip any opportunity, made what use he could of the differences and dissensions that were in Scotland, and endeavour'd to improve them to his own advantage.

To this end, he sent several times to Ker and Straughan in the west, to invite them to come in to him. This had that good effect, that Straughan shortly after withdrew himself from his party, and clos'd with the English, leaving Ker to command all himself. The lord-general still endeavour'd to draw him over, but all in vain; and having an especial eye upon this party, since he could not prevail by fair means, he resolv'd, notwithstanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of November, he order'd major-general Lambert, and commissary-general Whalley, with two armies of horse, to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the south side of the river Clyde; whilst himself march'd to Edinburgh on the north side. Having staid here some small time, till he had goo intelligence where Lambert and his party were; and withal, the weather being very bad,

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he march'd back again to Edinburgh. Ker having notice of this, as also that Lambert was at Hamilton, thought he had now an opportunity to surprize him: And accordingly setting upon a sudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horse, he before day with great fury broke into Lambert's quarters ; and meeting with no resistance at his first entry, he confidently march'd up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty soldiers having upon the alarm suddenly mounted, and behaviour'd by a tree that lay cross the street, obstructed their march till the whole garrison was alarm'd.

The suddenness of this attempt put the English into some surprize ; but soon recovering themselves, they, to make sure work of it, left part of their forces in the town, to encounter the enemy, and to secure the rear, whilst the rest drew out with design to surround the enemy's whole party ; who perceiving this in time, very dexterously fac'd about, and betook themselves to flight:

In this encounter, which was but short, near a hundred of the Scots were slain, and as many made prisoners. Ker himself was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Those who fled were pursu'd as far as Air, where a party

a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the remonstrators, were also put to the rout.

This success was the more considerable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engag'd them against their will ; for they being well acquainted with the countryp, and having the inhabitants on their side, could march about as they pleas'd ; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the English to have follow'd them without a great part of their army ; Lesley then lying at Sterling with the Scotch forces, watching all advantages.

This seasonable victory was soon follow'd by the surrender of Edinburgh castle, the most considerable strong-hold in Scotland, which was thought impregnable by situation and art. It is seated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance into it, and that both steep, and by which but two or three can go d-breast, and overlooks and commands all places about it ; so that the lord-general's men were often very much gall'd in their quarters at Edinburgh, by the great guns playing from thence.

When general Cromwell came first before this strong place, which was soon after the defas at Dunbar, he summon'd the governour, colonel William Dundass, to deliver it up to him ; which having no effect,

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he began to consult with his chief officers how to reduce it by storm; and all probable ways being debated, it was at last resolved to force it by mines. In order to this work, both English and Scotch miners were sent for, and towards the latter end of September, the galleries were begun in the night; which the besieged no sooner saw, but they fell to firing upon it with five great guns, and several volleys of small shot. But this prov'd no impediment to the English, who with indefatigable labour wrought thro' the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a stand, but did not make them give other; for having contriv'd ways to make holes in the rock, they fill'd them full of powder, and endeavour'd to make it fly by firing.

But this mining work going but slowly on, the lord-general fearing it would not answer his design, and that he should not be able to blow the castle up into the air, endeavour'd now to level it with the ground, and to that end, with mighty labour and pains, he rais'd a battery fortify'd with bastions and other contrivances, designing to play incessantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governour was very much amaz'd at this, who now began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withstand the English industry; tho' it must

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be said of him, that he did his utmost to answer the expectationt of those by whom he was entrusted with this important charge. The battery, notwithstanding all obstructions, being rais'd to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and six battering guns were drawn from Leith, and forthwith mounted against the castle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to summon the governour; which he did on the 11th of December in the following terms; ‘ That he being resolv’d, by God’s affistance, to use such means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the castle, did, for preventing further misery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions. To this the goveruour return’d this answer, ‘ That being entrusted by the committee of estates of Scotland, for the keeping of the castle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them: And therefore he desired ten days time to send to them, and receive their answer; upon receipt whereof the general should receive his resolute answer. But the lord-general knowing his time was precious, made this sudden reply, ‘ That it concerned not him to know the obligations of them that trusted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himself, and those that were with him:

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But he could not give liberty to him to consult with the committee of estates, because he heard those among them that were honest, enjoy'd not satisfaction, and the rest were now discover'd to seek another interest than they had formerly pretended to; in which, if he desir'd to be satisfy'd, he might have information at a nearer distance than St. John's town.

'Twas design'd, that this parley should continue till ten in the morning, December 13. but some great shot flying from the castle the night before, order was given the next morning to try the mortar-pieces, three with shells, and the fourth with stones. Which being done accordingly, the governour thereupon returned an answer to the generals last mess'ge; in which 'He adjur'd him in the fear and name of the living God (which was call'd upon in the acceptance of his great trust) that liberty might be granted for him to send to the committee of estates; and said, that he would be very willing to receive information from those of his countrymen whom he could trust.' To this the lord-general reply'd, 'That whoever he would appoint to come to him, should have liberty for one hour; but to send to the committee of estates, he could not grant.' The governour took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces

pieces and great guns had for some small time play'd with great violence against the castle.

This moved him to send forth a drum, desiring a conference with the provost of Aberdeen, and one more then in Edinburgh; to which the general readily consented: But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmost importance, absolutely refus'd to concern themselves in it, leaving the governour to take his own course. Hereupon Dundass was in great perplexity, and knew not what to do; till having revolv'd the matter a little in his mind, he at last came to this result, to acquit himself manfully in defence of the place. Accordingly a red ensign was immediately hung out in defiance on the top of the castle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall.

Upon this the lord-general thought it hightime for him to exert his utmost force; and accordingly sent in upon them such continual showers of shot, that the governour in a short time thought fit to beat a parley, and offered to surrender, if his former requist, of sending to the committee of estates, might be granted. But this being still refus'd, Dundass and his soldiers thought it not good to hold out any longer agaist such violent assaults; and so enter-

ing upon a treaty with the lord-general, came to an agreement upon these articles: "First, That the castle of Edinburgh, the cannon, arms, ammunition, magazines, and furniture of war, be delivered up to the lord-general Cromwell. Secondly, That the Scots have liberty to carry away their public registers, public moveables, private evidences and writs, into Fife or Stirling. Thirdly, That as to those goods in the castle belonging to any person whatsoever, the owners should have them restored to them: This to be proclaim'd, that all might take notice of it. Fourthly, That the governour, and all military officers, and soldiers, might depart without molestation, carrying their arms and baggage, with drums beating and colours flying, to Bruntisland in Fife: Moreover, the sick and wounded soldiers to stay in Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the same benefit of articles with the rest of their fellows."

According to these articles, this strong castle, which gloried in its virginity, having never before yielded to any conqueror, was after a siege of three months, deliver'd up to the victorious Cromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there also fell into his hands fifty three pieces of ordnance, some of them remarkable both for size and

beauty, eight thousand arms, fourscore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapestry and jewels. The subduing of this place was a thing so unexpected by several, that the Scots cry'd out, That Cromwell took it only by silver bullets. But what appeared most strange to others, and which made well on' general Cromwell's side, was, That the Scotch army, whic blay not very far off, should never attempt the relief of this most important place.

The main business the Scots were now intent upon, was the coronation of the king; which had been long delay'd by the kirk and states, that he might have time to humble himself for his father's sins and his own transgressions. But the vigorous proceedings of the English put them at last upon hastening that which they of themselves were backward enough in. The first of January was appointed for this solemnity, which was perform'd at Scone, with the greatest pomp and magnificence that the present state of the nation was capable of. His majesty having subscribed both the covenants, the marquess of Argyle set the crown upon his head; at which the people express'd their joy by their loud acclamations of God save king Charles the second. The main design now was to form such an

army

army, as might not only secure what they had still in their hands, but drive the English (whom they now call'd the common enemy) quite out of their country. To effect this, all persons were now promiscuously admitted into the army, commissions were granted for raising horse and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majesty set up his royal standard at Aberdeen, to which great numbers of volunteers and honoracy soldiers flock'd from all parts. From thence he marched to Sterling; where having muster'd his army, he made duke Hamilton his lieutenant-general, David Lesley major-general of the horse, and Massey general of the English troops.

The lord-general Cromwell observing these proceedings, was very little concerned at them. However, to make sure work, he endeavour'd to possess himself of all those garrisons of the Scots, which were on the south side of the Frith. To this end, he order'd colonel Fenwick with his own regiment, and colonel Syler's, to reduce Hume-castle under his obedience. Fenwick immediately upon his receiving these orders, applyed himself accordingly to the work; and having drawn his men up before the castle, sent a summons to the governor, as follows: "His excellency, the lord-general Cromwell, hath commanded me

me to reduce this castle, you now possess, under his obedience; which if you now deliver into my hands, for his service, you shall have terms for yourself and those with you: If you refuse, I doubt not but in a short time, by God's assistance, to obtain what I now demand. I expect your answer by seven of the clock to-morrow morning, and rest,

Your servant,

GEO. FENWICK.

The governor, whose name was Cockburn, being, it seems a man of fancy, returned him this answer:

"Right Honourable,
I have received a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a pass, to surrender Hume-castle to the lord-general Cromwell: Please you, I never saw your general. As for Hume-castle it stands upon a rock. Given at Hume-castle this day before seven a-clock. So resteth, without prejudice to my native country,

Your most humble servant,

TH: COCKBURN.

And soon after he sent the following lines.

I William of the Wastle,
Am now in my castle :
And awe the dogs in the town
Shan't gar me gang down.

But the governor did not long continue in this merry humour: For Fenwick having planted a battery against the castle, and made a small breach; as the English were just ready to enter, Cockburn beat a parley. But the colonel would now allow only quarter for life; which being accepted, the governor with his garrison, being seventy eight commanders and private soldiers, march'd out of the castle; which captain Colinsop with his company immediately enter'd to keep it for the parliament.

Colonel Monk was also detach'd with about three regiments of horse and foot, to reduce Faistalon-castle. Being come before it, he found the Scots very refractory, whereupon he caus'd the mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty hours: But these did little execution; till six battering guns being planted, were so well manag'd, that the governor and those that were

were with him were forc'd to submit to mercy.

The king having now got some authority, visited all the garrisons in Fife, and endeavoured to put them in such a posture as to hinder the English from landing on that side the Frith. To this end also he drew from Sterling such horse and foot as could be well spar'd, and quarter'd them all along the water-tide. Then he visited the highlanders, endeavouring to compose the dissensions that were amongst them, and to prevail on them to rise unanimously for him. Middleton marched forthwith out of these parts with a considerable body of horse and foot : And about the same time, the town of Dundee, as a testimony of their great respect to the king, and to shew their forwardness in promoting his interest, advanced at their own charge a compleat well arm'd regiment of horse, whom they sent with a stately tent, and six field-pieces with carriages and ammunition, as a present to his majesty then at Sterling ; where all being join'd, made up an army of twenty thousand men.

In the mean time, the parliament of England had a special regard to their army in Scotland, providing for their welfare in all respects. They took care to procure sufficient

cient supplies both of men, money and provisions, which they were continually sending away to them; so that never was an army better provided for than this, as no soldiers ever deserv'd better encouragement than these. Particularly, admiral Dean arrived about this time at Leith with large supplies from London; and amongst other conveniences, brought along with him seven and twenty great flat bottomed boats, for transporting the army over into Fife. And not long after, captain Butler arriv'd at the same place in the Success (a stout ship formerly taken from the French) with eight thousand pounds for the payment of the soldiers.

The lord general Cromwell had for some time laboured under a very great indisposition, occasioned by the unsuitableness of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter season in those parts. This confin'd him wholly to his chamber, and utterly disabled him to act in person with the army, how great occasion soever there might be. Now was the English army under very sad apprehensions; and yet they were not so much dejected and dishearten'd, as the Scots elevated and transported at this news; who highly pleased themselves with the very fancy of his death; and thereupon readily believ'd the slightest report of it to be true; and when once the conceit had possess'd them

them, could scarce by any means be brought to believe the contrary; so that a Scotch trumpeter coming out of Fife to Edinburgh, about the restoration of a ship which the English had taken, very confidently affirmed to the soldiers, that their general was dead; and said, they did well to conceal it, but all the world should not make him believe otherwise. This coming to the general's ear, who was now in a very fair way of recovery, to convince the man of his mistake, he order'd him to be brought before him. And the conceit was so strongly fix'd in him, that nothing but this could have remov'd it. However, being now effectually convinc'd, he at his return assur'd those who sent him of the falsity of this report, which had pass'd so currently in the Scotch army. After the lord general had been somewhat recover'd, he fell into a very dangerous relapse, which, if he had not been of an extraordinary strong constitution, might have ended his days. But the rulers in England, very much fearing the loss of their general, as knowing no man so fit for that high employment, first of all sent him two eminent physicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates; and presently after dispatched an order into Scotland permitting him to leave the business of the army, and repair into England, for the recovery of his

his health and strength, as thinking the air of Scotland might be the occasion of his illness. Upon the receipt of this, he wrote a letter to the lord president of the council of state, dated June 3d, which is as follows:

' My lord, I have received yours of the 27th of May, with an order of parliament for my liberty to return into England, for change of air, that thereby I might the better recover my health: All which came unto me, whilst Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your lordship sent down, were with me: I shall not need to repeat the extremity of my last sickness: It was so violent, that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond expectation, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out of the grave. My lord, the indulgence of the parliament, express'd by their order, is a very high and undeserved favour; of which, although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance; yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you, give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the council, for sending two such worthy persons so great a journey to visit me; from whom I have received much encouragement and good direction for recovery of my

health and strength, which I find by the goodness of God growing towards such a state as may yet, if it be his good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your affairs here, than to depend in the least upon so frail a thing as I am: Indeed they do not, nor own any instrument. This cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh! that all that have any hand therein, being so persuaded, would gird up the loins of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord. So prays, my lord, your most humble servant, O. Cromwell.'

About this time a plot was discover'd in England, which had been carried on by the Presbyterian party, and chiefly by the ministers of that persuasion, in order to promote the designs of their Scottish brethren, and help forward his majesty's restoration to the English throne. as a king under sufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Cafe, and Mr. Drake, very eminent presbyterian divines, besides some others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of state. Jenkins, Cafe and Drake confess'd themselves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble

humble submission pardon'd. But Love as being more guilty than any of the rest, was, together with one Gibbons, beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22d of August. He was condemn'd on July 5, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions were presented from himself and his friends to the parliament, for saving his life, but to no purpose; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, several ministers, in and about London came to the house, 'Praying earnestly, and in the bowels of Jesus Christ, who when they they were sinners, died for them, if not totally to spare the life of their dear brother, that yet they would say of him as Solomon of Abiathar, That at this time he shall not be put to death.'

Upon this he was repriev'd for one month; during which time, all possible solicitations were us'd to those in power, and particular application was made to the lord-general Cromwell in Scotland, who sent back a letter signifying his free consent to the pardon of him: But some cavaliers stopping the post-boy, and searching his packet, with great indignation tore the lord general's letter, that concern'd Mr. Love, as thinking he deserv'd not to live, who according to them, had been such an incendiary

incendiary in the treaty at Uxbridge. And so the parliament and council of state hearing nothing from the general, they took it for granted, that his silence was design'd as an absolute denial; upon which Love was executed on the aforesaid day.

General Cromwell was no sooner able to stir abroad, but with eager desire of action, he consulted with his chief officers to carry on the war. For this purpose, it was thought proper to contract their quarters by drawing in the out-guards, or petty garrisons, which were of little use, and were often very much molested by the Scots. And now the army being thus drawn together into one body, were supply'd with thirty three waggons and carriages for the train from Berwick; and all things being in readiness for the campaign, the lord-general, on June the 24th, order'd the army to advance to Redhaugh, where they staid not long, but march'd from thence to Pendland hills, a place well known to the English. Here they encamp'd in a most compleat and regular order; and the lord-general feasted his officers in his tent, with several of their ladies, as the lady Lambert, and major-general Dean's lady, and many other English gentlewomen, who came from Leith to see the soldiers in their tents.

The army having continu'd some small time in this posture, the lord-general, in order to carry on the present design, march'd them away to Newbridge, and from thence to Lithgow; where, from the battlements of the castle, they could discern the tents of the Scotch army, which lay encamp'd at Forwood near Sterling; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horse in great bodies lying about them for security, who were also fenced with a river and with bogs; so that the English could not possibly drive them out of this fastness. However, the lord-general to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, march'd his army in battalia so near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly seen; and so stood for the space of eight hours, waiting for the coming of the Scots, who thinking it better to spin out time, than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon the lord-general drew off his army to Glasgow, where having somewhat refreshed his wearied men, he march'd them back again; and understanding that the Scots had remov'd their camp to Kelfith, he wheel'd about, and shortly after quarter'd his army at Monksland, within four miles of the enemy. But they still refus'd to engage, and the general could

could not attack them without the greatest hazard.

This so provok'd him, that he resolv'd to fall upon part of their forces, that defended Calendar house. And so on the 15th of July, he order'd two battering guns to be planted, which having play'd with great violence for about eight hours, at last beat down the walls in several places. Notwithstanding which, the governour expecting relief from the Scotch army, which lay in sight of him, resolv'd to hold out to the utmost. Upon which the lord-general sent ten files out of every regiment, to force them out, since they could not be prevail'd on to submit. These brave fellows having provided themselves with faggots, presently unloaded themselves into the enemy's moat, and so springing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly possest themselves of the house, having slain the governour, with sixty two of his men. The Scotch army all this while look'd on, and, as if they were not at all concern'd in the mrtter, did not send one hand to the relief of their friends.

The lord-general finding that he could by no means provoke the Scots to a battle, resolv'd now to bid fair for Fife, that thereby he might cut off those supplies from them that enabled them to protract time and

prolong the war. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of Calendar-house, the valiant colonel Overton, with six hundred foot and four troops of horse, put out into the Forth, being order'd to land at the North-ferry in Fife; which he did in spight of those showers of great and small shot, that were pour'd upon him as he approach'd the shoar; in return to which he caused his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with so much courage and bravery, that the Scots were forc'd to break off the dispute, and betake themselves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time, general Cromwell kept close up to the Scots with the main body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in case they mov'd to disturb this enterprize.

However, the king sent major-general Brown and colonel Holborn with four thousand men to force the enemy out of Fife again; but before they could come up to them, Lambert and Okey pass'd over the Forth, with two regiments of horse and two of foot, and join'd with Overton. And so the English, with this unexpected reinforcement, falling upon Brown and Holborn, entirely defeated them, killing two thousand upon the spot, and taking prisoners major-general Brown himself, one colonel

lonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, seventeen lieutenants, twenty nine ensigns, five quarter-masters, six and twenty serjeants, five and twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common soldiers, with two and forty colours of horse and Foot.

Brown being thus defeated and reduc'd to the condition of a prisoner, liv'd not long after; dying, as was thought, of very grief for this sad disaster. Thus the English got sure footing on the other side of the Frith; and this overthrow prov'd the bane of the Scotch affairs.

Soon after this blow, the English took in garrisons almost as fast as they approach'd them. Lambert, in the first place, came before a strong fort call'd Innesgary, situated in an Isle lying in the Frith, betwixt Queen's-Ferry and the pass into Fife. The garrison here was so terrify'd at the news of the late overthrow, that being summon'd by Lambert, they were content to march away with only their swords by their sides, and deliver up the fort, with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, and sixteen pieces of ordnance, to the English. About this time, a minister and two students came from Augus to the lord-general Cromwell for protection: One of them was excommunicated for not answering the two following

lowing questions; 1. Whether Presbyterian government in Scotland, be not in all things conform to the word of God? 2. Whether Cromwell be not antichristian?

The news of the defeat in Fife being brought to the king, who still lay strongly encamp'd in Torwood, occasion'd so great a consternation in his army, that with great precipitation he decamp'd, and march'd into Sterling park. General Cromwell follow'd speedily after them in the rear, and marching over the ground where they so lately lay, he perceiv'd with what a pannic fear they had been seiz'd. For they left behind them all their sick men, one barrel of powder, three of ball, a great deal of match, many muskets, and three barrels of hand-granadoes.

The lord-general followed them within two miles of Sterling, endeavouring to provoke them to an engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haste they could to secure themselves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpose to continue here, on the 22d of July march'd away his army to Lithgow; from whence he caused the greatest part of them to be transported over into Fife, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other side of the water. The general himself retir'd to Leith, to provide for the

supply of his soldiers ; and here he receiv'd the welcome news of the surrender of Bruntisland to Lambert ; who having brought the army before it, the governour of the place was so dismay'd, that after a short parley he deliver'd it up on these conditions : ‘ First, That the soldiers in garrison (being about five hundred) should march away with colours flying. Secondly, That the inhabitants of the town should have what belong'd to them. Thirdly, That all provisions of war, together with all guns and shipping of war, should be deliver'd up for the use of the commonwealth of England.’ This place was of great advantage to the English ; for it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence in the course of their conquests, have continued supplies of all that was necessary and convenient for them.

General Cromwell having settled matters at Leith, immediately cross'd the Frith to his army, which was then at Bruntisland ; and so dispatching Whalley to reduce the smaller garrisons upon the coast of Fife, and leaving colonel West's regiment in Bruntisland, he with the rest of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of July, march'd away towards St. John's town ; that by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the Highlanders

from

from sending any supplies, either of men or provisions, to Sterling.

Being come before it, he sent this summons to the town. ‘ That being inform’d the town was void of a garrison, save the inhabitants and some few countrymen, he requir’d them to deliver the same to him immediately; promising to secure their persons from violence, and their goods from plunder.’ The messenger who carry’d this summons was, contrary to the expectation of the English, deny’d admittance, and came back with this short reply from the townsmen, That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters. But to excuse the matter, the magistrates soon sent after him a message, declaring, ‘ That the king’s majesty had sent a very strong party, able to maintain the town, and overpower them with a governour; But always to observe civility with his lordship, they had obtain’d leave from the governour to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat.’

It seems the lord Duffus had the day before enter’d the town with thirteen hundred men; but the lord-general, upon his refusal of the new summons which he sent him, having drain’d the water out of the moats round about the town, and battered the walls

walls with his cannon, oblig'd him to surrender in a day after.

These wonderful successes, which attended the English arms, threw the king's affairs in Scotland into great perplexity and distress; whereupon he began to think of making an irruption into England. He was now much nearer England than general Cromwell, who could not possibly overtake him, till after his majesty had been some days march before him. His fate depended upon the success of one battle; and he had reason to believe that all the northern parts of England were well affected to him; whether if he could once reach, he might hope to encrease his army by the accession of such men as would render it much more considerable.

Upon this, it was resolv'd, that the army should with all possible expedition advance into England, by the nearest ways that led into Lancashire; whither his majesty sent expresses to his friends in those parts, that they might have their soldiers in a readiness to receive him. He also sent an express to the earl of Derby, who was then in the Isle of Man, requiring him to meet him in Lancashire. The marques of Argyle was the only person who persuaded the king from marching into England, and that with no inconsiderable arguments; but the contrary opinion

opinion prevailing, Argyle retir'd to his house in the Highlands: And so, on the last day of July, the king began his march from Sterling, and on the 6th of August enter'd England by the way of Carlisle, with an army of about sixteen thousand men.

The noise of this sudden invasion gave a most terrible alarm to the whole nation, especially to the parliament at Westminster, who were still more dismay'd at the report of the greatness of the king's army, and his design of mounting his foot-soldiers, and advancing directly to London. They were now ready to pass severe censures on the lord-general Cromwell, and condemned him of rashness and precipitation; whilst he in the mean time took care to satisfy them as well as he could, and assur'd them, ' That he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they should give them any trouble.' Accordingly, that he might lose no time, he order'd major-general Lambert ' To follow the king immediately with seven or eight hundred horse, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to molest the king's march as much as possible, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own party in any sharp actions, without a very manifest

fest advantage, but keeping himself entire till he should come up to him.

The parliament also exerted themselves to the utmost on this occasion. The militia of most counties was order'd to be drawn into the field, to obstruct the king's march. Two thousand out of Staffordshire, and four thousand out of Lancashire and Cheshire, under the command of colonel Birch, join'd with Lambert and Harrison. The lord Fairfax, drew out into the field with a formidable body, to flank the king's army; the militia of the city of London was commanded out, and all the adjacent counties were strictly enjoyn'd by the parliament to set out horse and men at their own charges. An act was also publish'd, wherein it was declar'd, ' That no person whatsoever should presume to hold any correspondence with Charles Stuart, or with his party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist any of them, nor voluntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or delivered unto any of them, any victuals, provisions, ammunition, arms, horse, plate, money men, or any other relief whatsoever, under pain of high treason: and that all persons should use their utmost endeavours to hinder and stop their march.'

The lord-general Cromwell being now ready to march into England, in pursuit of the Scotch army, endeavour'd to settle the affairs of Scotland in such a posture, as effectually to secure what was already obtain'd; and gave all the necessary orders to lieutenant-general Monk, whom he resolv'd to leave behind him with a strong party of foot, and such troops of horse, as might be able to quell any forces which should rise after his departure. This done, the victorious Cromwell, with the remainder of the army, marched out of Scotland, and on the 12th of August crossed the Tine: With which swift march being quite wearied out, he caus'd the army to pitch their tents on Ryson Haugh, upon the brink of the Tine, whil'st himself took up his quarters at Steely house, not far from his Soldiers.

The mayor of Newcastle understanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the rest of the magistrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in England; and that they might be the more welcome to the soldiers, carried along with them, bread, cheese, bisket, and beer, for the refreshment of the army. These supplies were very seasonable, and enabled the soldiers chearfully to continue their march.

The

The Scots in the mean-time by a swift march went on in prosecution of their present design. The king led them through Lancashire, where at the head of his army he was in all the market-towns he pass'd through proclaim'd king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for besides that the Scots daily deserted him, the country did not come in to him as he believed they would, being continually obstructed by the forces of the commonwealth, which spread themselves over all places. The king with his army marched on towards Warrington on the borders of Cheshire, the passage of which bridge was sharply contested by Lambert and his party, but was at last obtained by the king, the Scots, as they fell on, crying out, Oh you Rogues! We will be with you before your Cromwell comes. The king resolv'd to continue his march with the same expedition as he had us'd hitherto, till they should come to such a post where they might securely rest themselves; which the poor soldiers very much desir'd, being extreamly fatigu'd with the length of their march, and the heat of the season. His majesty hoping the interest that major-general Massey had in Gloucestershire, would draw a great many in to him from those parts,

parts, resolved to direct his march that way.

At last looking upon Worcester as a proper place, he determin'd to settle there with his army; and accordingly, on the 23d day of August, he enter'd that city with very little opposition; where he resolv'd to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy; and that he might not be wanting in any thing, that might tend to the preservation of himself and forces, he ordered works to be raised for better security. Then he sent a summons to colonel Mackworth governour of Shrewsbury, inviting him to yield up that garrison to him; to which the governour return'd a peremptory denial. He also sent letters to Sir Thomas Middleton, to raise forces for him in Montgomeryshire; but Sir Thomas detain'd the Messenger prisoner and sent up the letter to the parliament.

A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters at Worcester, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of Derby. This brave man was the only person, who made any considerable attempt to support the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horse; but before he could join the king's army, colonel Lilburn set upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himself

being wounded, retreated into Cheshire with about eighty horse, and from thence to the king at Worcester.

In the mean time, general Cromwell having refresh'd his soldiers ne r Newcastle, immediately march'd away by Rippon, Ferry-briggs, Doncaster, Mansfiel : and Coventry ; and at Keinton join'd with the rest of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Desborough, the lord Grey of Groby, major-general Lambert, and major-general Harrison ; making in all about thirt thousand men. The commonwealth had indeed by their new levies encreased their forces to a prodigious number ; and England never produced so many soldiers in so short a time : For the standing army, with those other forces newly rais'd by act of parliament, upon this occasion, are said to have amounted to above six thousand men.

The lord general being come up, and having observed the posture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, seven miles from Worcester, designing there, if possible, to pass over his army. Lambert was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detach'd a small party of horse and dragoons, to see how feasible the enterprize might be. This party coming to the bridge found it broken down,

down, all but one plank. Over this these daring fellows pass'd, who finding that the Scots took the alarm, presently betook themselves to a church for security. Here-upon Massey who lay at Upton with about sixty dragoons, and two hundred horse, gave a camisado on the church ; but major-general Lambert, having in the mean time pass'd over a new supply of horse, fell furiously upon the enemy's party, and overpowering them, forc'd them to a retreat ; which Massey supported with so much bravery, that sometimes facing then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the rear, and never quitted his station, till he arriv'd with his men at Worcester. In this encounter his horse w.s kill'd under him, and he received a shot in his arm. The bridge being thus gain'd, all possible industry was us'd to make it up ; so that lieutenant-general Fleetwood's army quickly pass'd over ; which still marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Feame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile beneath Worcester : And the general, in the mean time, caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on this side ; and this for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more straiten'd.

The Scots drawing out to oppose the lieutenant general's passage, the lord-general resolved to divert their design, or to oblige them to fight on great disadvantage. To which end, himself in person led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel Hacker's horse, and his own life-guard, on that side of Worcester, which he design'd to attack. Whilst this was doing, lieutenant general Fleetwood, assisted by colonel Goffe's and major general Dean's regiments of foot, maintain'd a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lin'd thick with musqueteers, judging that to be the safest way.

And indeed they stoutly maintained their ground, till colonel Blake's, Gibbon's and Marsh's regiments came in and join'd with the others against them; upon which they retreated to Fowick bridge, where they were again engag'd by colonel Hains, Cobbet, and Matthews; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at last to secure themselves by flying into Worcester.

Presently after, the king calling a council of war, it was resolved to engage Cromwell himself. Accordingly, they on a sudden sally'd out against him with so much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not sustain the shock, but was forced to retire

tire in some disorder; and his cannon likewise were for some time in the power of the king's party: But multitudes of fresh forces coming in, at last turn'd the scale on Cromwell's side. The battle continu'd for three or four hours with great fierceness and various success, till the Scots being over-power'd by Cromwell's superior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confusion to secure themselves. The horse made as fast as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being closely pursu'd by some of the conquerors, who furiously flew thro' all the streets, doing such terrible execution, that there was nothing to be seen for some time but blood and slaughter. As soon as the lord-general had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilst this party were killing and slaying all that they met with, he with some regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by colonel Drummond; and being just about to storm, he first ventured his person thro' whole showers of shot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would presently submit, and deliver up the fort; which they refusing, he soon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the sword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very considerable parties were sent after the flying enemy,

enemy, and the country every where rose upon them. The slain in this battle were reckoned about four thousand, and the prisoners taken in the fight and in the pursuit amounted to about ten thousand; so that near all were lost.

The chief of the prisoners were duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke) who died soon after of his wounds; the earl of Derby, who not long after was sentenc'd to death, and lost his head at Bolton; the earls of Lauderdale, Carnwarth, Rothes, and Kelley; the lord Sinclair, Sir John Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, major-general Montgomery, major-general Piscoty, Mr. Richard Fanshaw secretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; besides several colonels, and other inferior officers. There were also taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's standard, his coach and horses, and several other things of great value. The king escaped, and having wandred for some time in disguise about England, he at last found means to embark, and landed safely at Diepe in France.

This great victory, which was justly look'd upon as the decision of the grand cause between the king and the common wealth,

wealth, was obtain'd by general Cromwell on the third of Sept. twelve-month, that the Scots had such a defeat given 'em by his forces at Dunbar, as lost them their kingdom. Cromwell's word was the same as at Dunbar, "The Lord of Hosts." The next day the lord-general sent a letter to the parliament; which was as follows:

"I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the lord hath done for this commonwealth, and for his people; and yet I am unwilling to be silent, but according to my duty I shall represent it to you, as it comes to hand. This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part, and in the end became an absolute victory, and so full an one, as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army, and possession of the town; our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage, took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many, and must needs be so, because the dispute was long, and very near at hand, and often at the push of pike, and from one defence to another

other. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality; duke Hamilton, the earl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen; I hear, the earl of Lauderdale, many officers of great quality, and some that will be fit objects of your justice. We have sent very considerable parties after the flying enemy: I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, the country riseth upon them every where; and I believe, the forces that lay thro' prudence at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with colonel Lilburne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return. A more particular account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. I heard they had not many more than a thousand forces following and interposing between them and home. Their army was about sixteen thousand strong, fought ours on Worcester-side Severn, almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged half our army on the other side, but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost two hundred men. Your new-rais'd forces did perform singular good service, for which they deserve a very high estimation

and

and acknowledgment, as also for their willingness thereunto, forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs. They are all dispatch'd home again; which, I hope, will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the country, which is a great fruit of the successes.'

The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is for ought I know. a crowning mercy; surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concern'd in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of him, who hath done his will for it, and for the nation; whose good pleasure is, to establish the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold, humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen people. But that the fear of the lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority, and a people so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed to, humble and faithful; that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth may flow from

you as a thankful return to our glorious God, This shall be the prayer of, Sir, your most humble, and obedient servant,
O. Cromwell.



C H A P. V.

From the battle of Worcester, to the forcible dissolution of the Long Parliament.

General Cromwell having given this deadly blow to the Scots, and to all the king's forces, staid no longer at Worcester, than to see the walls of it levell'd with the ground, and the dikes fill'd with earth, thereby to curb the disaffection of the inhabitants; and to prevent their attempting to secure the enemy for the future. This done, he march'd up in a triumphant manner to London, driving four or five thousand prisoners like sheep before him. Beyond Aylesbury, he was met by four commissioners from the parliament, whom they sent to pay him all the marks of honour and esteem. When he came to Acton, he was solemnly met by the speaker, and the rest of the members and council of state; and soon after by the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, and many persons of quality.

quality, with the militia and multitudes of people; who welcom'd him with loud shouts and acclamations, and several volies of great and small shot. Whitelock says, he carry'd himself with great affability, and seeming humility; and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention any thing of himself, but of the gallantry of the officers and soldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God. After some small repose, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the speaker made a speech to him, congratulating his return after so many worthy atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the house for his great and faithful services to the commonwealth.

On the same day, he with his chief officers, was feasted in the city, with all possible state and pomp: And soon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a solemn thanksgiving-day, and the other for a yearly observati-on of the third day of September, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewise settled four thousand pounds a year upon him, out of the estates of the duke of Buck-ingham, and the marquess of Worcester,
beside

besides two thousand five hundred pounds per annum, formerly granted.

Soon after the battle of Worcester, the isle of Man, bravely defended by the heroick countess of Derby, and the isle of Jersey that had been long maintain'd by Sir George Carteret, were both reduc'd to the parliament's obedience. They had long since been masters of Guernsey, except the chief fort, call'd Cornet-castle, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges, the governour, but was about the latter end of October surrender'd by him upon very good articles. And the Scilly isles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were some time before reduc'd by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Major general Monk, whom the lord-general had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good success. Before the fight at Worcester, he took Sterling, the chief strength of the Scots; as also Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had before us'd at Tredagh; and surpriz'd a convention of the Scotch nobility, among whom was old general Lesley, and sent them prisoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occasion'd such a terror, that St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter castles,

les, with other towns, castles, and strong holds, either voluntarily declar'd for the conquerors, or surrender'd upon summons. Notwithstanding this, the Scots made one attempt more under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands; But they were soon suppress'd and dispers'd by colonel Morgan: So that the English extended their conquests thro' all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the isles of Orkney and Shetland, which now submit, ted to them.

And here I shall dismiss the affairs of Scotland for the present, with the remarks that bishop Burnet makes on the state of that kingdom, after this absolute reduction of it under the power of the English. After this, says he, the country was kept in great order: Some castles in the highlands had garrisons put into them, that were so careful in their discipline, and so exact to their rules, that in no time the highlands were kept in better order, than during the usurpation. There was a considerable force of about seven or eight thousand men kept in Scotland: These were paid exactly, and strictly disciplin'd. The pay of the army brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flourishing state. Cromwell built three citadels, at Leith, Ayr and Inverness, besides

sides many little forts. There was good justice done, and vice was suppress'd and punish'd; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation, a time of great peace and prosperity. There was also a sort of union of the three kingdoms in one parliament, where Scotland had its representatives. The marquess of Argyle went up one of our commissioners.'

Soon after the victory at Worcester, general Cromwell desir'd a meeting with several members of parliament, and some of the principal officers of the army, at the speaker's house; where, as Whitelock who was one of the number acquaints us, he propos'd to them, 'That now the old king being dead, and his son defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation; in order to which he had requested this meeting, that they together might consider and advise, what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the parliament:

What pass'd hereupon in this conference, I shall set down as I find it in Whitelock. Lenthall the speaker began thus: 'My lord, this company were very ready to attend your excellency; and the business you are pleas'd to propound to us, is very necessary to be consider'd.' God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command

mand, and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this common-wealth, we shall be very much blame-worthy.'

Harrison. ' I think that which my lord-general hath propounded, is to advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties, and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be cast away; how this may be done is the great question.'

Whitelock. ' It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolv'd; yet, it were pity that a meeting of so many able, worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless. I should humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood, in what way this settlement is desir'd, whether of an absolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy.'

General Cromwell. ' My lord commissioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government will be best to be settled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed.'

Sir Thomas Widdrington. ' I think a monarchical government will be most suitable

table to the laws and people of this nation; and if any thing monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late king.'

Fleetwood. 'I think that the question, Whether an absolute republick, or a mix'd monarchy, be best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determin'd.'

Lord chief justice St. John. 'It will be found that the government of this nation, without something of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be settled, as not to shake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people.'

Lenthal. 'It will breed a strange confusion to settle a government of this nation, without something of monarchy.'

Desborough. 'I beseech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be govern'd in the way of a republick.'

Whitelock. 'The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.'

Whalley.

Whalley. ‘ I do not well understand matters of law ; but it seems to me the best way, not to have any thing of monarchial power in the settlement of our government : And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon ? The king’s eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son likewise is our enemy.’

Sir Thomas Widdrington. ‘ But the late king’s third son, the duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.’

Whitelock. ‘ There may be a day given for the king’s eldest son, or for the duke of York his brother, to come in to the parliament ; and upon such terms as shall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them.’

General Cromwell. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty ; but really, I think, if it may be done with safety and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and as christians, that a settlement with something of monarchial power in it would be very effectual.’

Much more discourse there was by several gentlemen then present. The soldiers were generally for a pure republick, the

lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of Gloucester to be made king; but general Cromwell still put off that debate to some other point; and many think, that having now begun to entertain thoughts of setting up himself, his design in this conference, was only to discover the inclinations of these persons, that he might make a proper use thereof in prosecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heighten'd by the finishing stroke that was given to his successes, in the late glorious victory at Worcester.

The commission of general Cromwell to be lord lieutenant of Ireland being expir'd, the parliament did not think fit to renew that title and office, looking upon them to be more suitable to monarchy, than to a free common-wealth.; but they pass'd a vote, ' That the act o^r parliament constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq; captain-general and commander in chief of the armies and forces rais'd by their authority within England, should extend to the forces in Ireland, as if Ireland had been particularly named: And that the lord-general be requir'd to appoint such a person as he shall think fit, to command the forces in Ireland, and to commission him accordingly.' And so lieutenant-general Fleetwood had the command in chief of the forces in Ireland given

given him, to hold under the lord general Cromwell; and under his conduct, that kingdom was in a little time brought into perfect subjection.

Whilst the common-wealth of Eng'land thus every where victorious at home, a rupture happened between them and the elder republick, the states of Holland; which occasioned such terrible sea-fights, that no preceding age since the creation had ever produced the like. Some time in the laist year, the parliament sent over the chief justice St. John and Mr. Strickland to treat of a coalition w'th the Dutch; but they apprehending that this conjunction might rob them at their trade, and be little less than making them a province to England, not only refused to consent to it, but rudely treated St. John; which was so much resented by his haughty spirit, that he made the report of this embassy little to the advantage of the Dutch. Upon this the act of navigation, which prohibited foreign ships from bringing any merchandizes into England, except such as should be of the growth and manufacture of that country, to which the said ships belonged.' By virtue of which law the English took occasion to search the Dutch vessels, and often to make prize of them. The states hereupon sent over four ambaffadors for the restoring and

and preserving a good understanding between the two republicks; but the parliament demanded the arrears for the Dutch fishing upon the coasts of England; and Scotland, the giving up to justice those of the Dutch who survived, that were assisting in the massacre of the English at Ambyna; and a free trade up the Scheld. The Dutch seeing how little they were to expect from the English by a treaty, began to prepare for a war; nor were the others behind-hand with them.

The first act of hostility was in December last year, when an English man of war meeting with some Dutch fishermen on the British coast, demanded the tenth herring, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the seas, which the parliament was determined to maintain in another manner than had hitherto been done. The Dutch not complying, they fell from words to blows; and the Dutchman shooting first at the English, the English man of war sunk one of the Dutch ships, which perished with all her crew.

This was but a skirmish; but the first great sea-fight between these potent republicks, was in May this year; when admiral Van Trump, according to the instructions he had received, refusing to strike sail to the English, Blake the English admiral gave orders

order to fire at Trump's flag; which being done thrice, Trump instead of striking it, poured a Broad side upon Blake. Hereupon both fleets engag'd from four in the afternoon till night; in which fight, the Dutch had one man of war taken, and another sunk, one hundred and fifty men kill'd, and their whole fleet much damaged; whereas the English had not one ship lost or disabled, and but few of their men slain. The second sea fight was on the 20th of August; when Sir George Ayscough, who was left by Blake to command in the Downs, with thirty eight men of war, set upon the Dutch fleet of fifty, and fifteen merchant men.

This fight having continued three days, the Dutch lost two ships, one sunk, and the other burnt, but the English none. On the 28th of October, admiral Blake, with vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Bourne, again engag'd the Dutch fleet near the North-Foreland, boarded and took their rear admiral, sunk two more of them, and one was blown up. The rest of the Dutch fleet being very much shatter'd and forc'd to fly, was pursued twelve leagues by the English, who lost not one ship in this fight, tho' many of them were damag'd in their rigging. Another furious fight happen'd on the 29th of November, which continued from ten

in the morning till six at night; when the Dutch fleet, double in number to the English, got the better of them, taking the Garland frigat, burning the Bonadventure, and sinking three more. One of the Dutch flag-ships was blown up, and all the men lost but two, and Van Trump's and De Ruyter's ships were much damag'd.

But to return home: About this time, the lord-general Cromwell meeting with commissioner Whitelock, saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy, and desired to have some private discourse with him. Whitelock waited on him accordingly, and after some previous discourse, the lord-general proceeded thus: ' Your lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deserts, that others who have ventured least, have gained most, and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the common wealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their insolence is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings. Then as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have

have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause of it; and really their pride and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business; and design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue their power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them; these things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that unless there be some authority and power so full and so high, as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin.'

Whitelock answered: 'I confess the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate

inordinate powers, is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your excellency's power and commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience. And, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but by your wisdom you will be ab'e still to do it. As to the members of parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there, your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them. Yet, I am sure, your excellency will not look upon them as generally deprav'd; too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have pass'd among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.'

The lord-general reply'd, ' There is little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion, and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways: Some course must be thought on to curb and restrain

strain them, or we shall be ruined by them? Upon this Whitelock said, ‘ We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.’

The general then put this short question to Whitelock, What if a man should take upon him to be king? Whitelock said, He thought that remedy would be worse than the disease: And the general asking him, why he thought so, he proceeded, ‘ As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general: As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refus'd; and altho' you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, tho' the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it, is from your excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed less envy

and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king.'

The lord-general proceeded to argue, That whoever was actually king by election, the acts done by him were as lawful and justifiable, as if done by the king, who had the crown by inheritance; and that by an act of parliament in King Henry the seventh's reign, it was safer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power. White-lock agreed to the legality, but much doubted the expediency of it; and being ask'd, What danger he apprehended in taking this title, he answer'd, The danger I think would be this: One of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries, is, Whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy, or in a free state or commonwealth? And most of our friends have engaged with us, upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state, and to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being persuaded (tho' I think much mistaken) that under the government of a commonwealth, they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their civil and spiritual concerns, than they shall under monarchy.

monarchy, the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings. Now if your excellency shall take upon you the title of king, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy establish'd in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king and monarch. And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engag'd, and which was universal, will by this means become in effect a private controversy only; before it was national, what kind of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governour, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you, your hands will be weaken'd, your interest strenghtened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.'

The general here acknowledg'd that Whitelock spoke reason, and ask'd him, What other thing he could propound that might obviate the present dangers and difficulties

ficulties, wherein they were all involv'd Whitelock confess'd it would be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient, but said, he had had some things in his private thoughts upon this matter, which he fear'd were not fit, or safe for him to communicate: But upon the general's pressing him to disclose them, and promising there should no prejudice come to him by any private discourse betwixt them, and assuring him, he should never betray his friend, and that he should take kindly whatever he should offer; Whitelock began thus: ' Give me leave then first to consider your excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies: upon your subduing of the publick enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us, hath not a little elevated their minds, and many of them are busy, and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your excellency, and some of them selves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want not counsel and encouragement herein, it may be from some members of the parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you hould grow too high for

them,

them, and in time over master them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

The general upon this thanked Whitelock for so fully considering his condition: It is, said he, a testimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly consider'd it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is invov'd and all our friends, and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our hands?

Whitelock then proceeded: 'Pardon me, Sir, in the next place a little to consider the condition of the king of Scots. This prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduc'd to a very low condition, both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be reviv'd of his being restor'd to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends, and their fortunes; you may make yourself

yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends: You may put such limits to monarchial power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourselves, and whom you shall agree upon after you. I propound therefore for your excellency to send to the king of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose.'

The general hereupon told him, he thought he had much reason for what he propounded; But, said he, it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate, than is at present allow'd us: We shall therefore take a farther time to discourse of it. And with that he brake off, and went away with some dispeasur in his countenance.

His carriage also towards Whitelock was from that time alter'd, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as formerly; and not long after, he found an occasion, by an honourable employment, to send him out of the way, that he might be no hindrance to him in the designs he was then carrying on. For 'tis pretty manifest,

that

that he had it now in his thoughts to set up himself, and bring the crown upon his own head.

To which purpose Harry Nevill who was then one of the council of state, us'd to tell it as a story of his own knowledge, ‘ That Cromwell upon this great occasion sent for some of the chief city divines, as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's single government, and offer'd to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answer'd readily upon the first head of unlawful, and appeal'd to the safety of the nation being the supreme law: But, says he, pray Mr. Calamy, why impracticable? Calamy reply'd, Oh, 'tis against the voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten against you. Very well, says Cromwell, but what if we should disarm the nine, and put the sword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business.’

General Cromwell and his officers, in order to bring about their designs, were now daily complaining of the grievances from the long parliament, and seem'd very zealous upon the common pretences of right and justice, and publick liberty, to put a period to their session; Which if they would not shortly

shortly do themselves, the army and people must do it for them.' They particularly complain'd; ' That the parliament order'd all things at will, and distributed all valuable employments among themselves; that they were so many kings, and for one sovereign, the nation had many, who car'd less for the laws than he they had destroy'd; that they embru'd the kingdom in blood, upon pretence of punishing the adversaries of the government, but in reality to gratify their own private revenge; that they had study'd to perpetuate themselves in an employment which ought to be temporary, so that all the good subjects of the commonwealth might share in it; that the parliament ought to be dissolv'd, and a new representative chosen by the universal consent of the people, according to the scheme laid when monarchy was abolish'd to set up a commonwealth. And that no obstacle might be in the way of the design'd future government, means were found to set the young duke of Gloucester at liberty, and send him out of the nation.

'Twas about this time that Cromwell sent a letter to the Cardinal de Retz in France; which the said Cardinal thus relates in his Memoires: ' 'Tis remarkable that the same night, as I was going home (viz, after he had been to carry some money he had

had borrow'd for king Charles, who was now at Paris (I met one Tilney, an Englishman, whom I had formerly known at Rome, who told me that Vere, a great parliamentarian and a favourite of Cromwell, was arriv'd at Paris, and had orders to see me: I was a little perplex'd; however, I thought it would be improper to refuse him an interview. He gave me a letter from Cromwell in the nature of credentials, importing, that the sentiments I had discover'd in the defence of publick liberty, added to my reputation, and had induc'd him to enter into the strictest friendship with me. It was a most civil complaisant letter, and I answer'd it with a great deal of respect; but in such a manner as became a true Catholick and an honest Frenchman.'

On the 18th of February, there happen'd another dreadful fight, between the English fleet commanded by Blake, Dean, and Monk, and the Dutch under Van Trump: This fight lasted three days with wonderful bravery, and terrible slaughter on both sides, tho' the English prevail'd; for the Dutch lost eleven men of war, and thirry merchant ships, above two thousand of their men being kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners: But the English lost but one ship, the Southampton, which was sink'd; tho' their

slain were not many less than those of the enemy.

This great loss so sensibly affected the states of Holland and West Friezland, that they dispatch'd letters to the English parliament, to endeavour after some means for putting an end to this cruel war. This negotiation had no effect, tho' it was particularly promoted by general Cromwell himself, who was very desirous to have a peace concluded. The states had offer'd to acknowledge the English sovereignty of the British seas, and to pay three hundred thousand pounds to the English commonwealth; but finding this was not likely to succeed, they apply'd themselves (as we are told) more directly to general Cromwell, promising him vast sums, if he would venture to depose and dissolve the parliament.

However this was, the general and his officers still continu'd their complaints against the parliament; and petitions, addresses, and remonstrances were daily presented from the army, 'for the payment of their arrears, the putting an end to this parliament, and summoning a more equal representative; which they told them would be the most popular action they could perform.' Some of the officers were indeed very much concern'd at these proceedings, and openly protested against them. Major Streater was

so bold as to declare, ‘ That the general intended to set up himself, and that it was a betraying of their most glorious cause, for which so much blood had been spilt.’ But Harrison, who was one of the leaders of that party, now known by the name of Fifth-monarchy-men, told him, He was assur’d, the general did not seek himself in it, but did it to make way for the rule of Jesus, that he might have the Scepter. To whom the major thus reply’d, That unless Jesus came very suddenly, he would come too late.

The parliament being very sensible of these proceedings, a great debate arose thereupon in the house; where several of the members, out of justice, reason, or a foreseen necessity, appear’d to be for a dissolution, of the parliament, was too high a matter for any private persons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther presumption of that nature, a committee was appointed to prepare an act of parliament with all possible expedition, ‘ For filling up of their house, and for settling their qualifications; and to declare it high-treason for any man to propose or contrive the changing of the present government.’

General Cromwell perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had so long enjoy’d,

on the 19th of April, held a consultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in White-hall, to consider of some expedient for the present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to the parliament. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and commissioner Whitelock, declar'd what a dangerous thing it was to dissolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: But the general, and most of his officers, with several members of the house, deliver'd their opinion, That it was necessary to take some new measures, and that it was not fit the present assembly of parliament should be permitted to prolong their own power.

The conference lasted till late at night, where, without coming to any conclusion, the meeting was adjourn'd to the next morning. Most of them being then again met, the point in debate was, 'Whether forty persons, or about that number, of parliament men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the parliament and impowered for managing the affairs of the commonwealth, till a new parliament should meet, and so the present parliament be forthwith dissolved.' The lord general being inform'd, during this debate, that the parliament

ment was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him, left him at his lodgings, and went to the house; where, contrary to their expectation, instead of coming to any resolutions of immediately dissolving themselves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the present parliament was to be continu'd above a year and a half longer, and then to be disolv'd:

Colonel Ingoldsby came back to the general, and inform'd him what the house was upon: At which the general, who expect'd they should have meddled with no other business, but putting an immediate period to their own sitting without any more delay, was so enrag'd, that he immediately commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers (to the number of three hundred) with which marching directly to Westminster, he placed some of them at the door, some in the Lobby, and others on the stairs. Himself going into the house, first address'd himself to his friend St. John and told him, ' That he then came to do that which griev'd him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears pray'd to God against: Nay, that he had rather be

torn in pieces than do it: But that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation. Then he sat down and heard their debates for some time on the foremention'd act; after which, calling to major general Harrison, who was on the other side of the house to come to him, he told him, That he judg'd the parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it. Harrison answer'd, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it. You say well, reply'd the general; and thereupon sat still for a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the said act being put, he said again to Harrison, This is the time I must do it. And so standing up on a sudden, he bad the speaker leave the chair, and told the house, That they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whore-masters, looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth;) that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer, and therefore he must desire them to go away! He charg'd them with not having a heart to do any thing for the publick

lick good, and espousing the interest of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression ; and accused them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. When some of the members began to speak, he stepped into the midit of the house, and said, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating : Then walking up and down the house, he cry'd out, You are no parliament, I say yon are no parliament ; and stamping with his feet, he bad them for shame be gone, and give place to honester men. Upon this signal the soldiers enter'd the house, and he bad one of them, Take away that bauble, meaning the mace ; and Harrison taking the speaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as Ludlow informs us) the general addressing himself again to the members, who were about a hundred, said, 'Tis you that forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this work. And then seizing on all their papers, he order'd the soldiers to see the house clear'd of all members ; and having caus'd the doors to be lock'd up, went away to Whitehall. Thus as Whitelock observes, it pleased God, that this assembly, famous throughout the world for its undertakings, actions and successes, having subdued

dued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruin'd by their servants; and those whom they had raised, now pulled down their masters: An example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be parallel'd in any story! By which all persons may be instructed, how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them highest.

The general being return'd to Whitehall, found the officers who were then assembled, in debate concerning this weighty affair, and told them, He hath done it; and they needed not to trouble themselves any farther about it. Some of those officers, who dislik'd what the general had done, particularly colonel Okey, repair'd to him to desire satisfaction in that proceeding, apprehending the way they were now in, tended to ruin and destruction. To these he made large pretensions to honesty and concern for the publick weal, professing himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament. This put most of them to silence, and made them willing to wait for a farther discovery of his design, before they proceeded so far as to break with him.

Having thus dissolv'd the parliament, general Cromwell went the same day in the afternoon

afternoon to the council of state, attended by the major-generals Lambert and Harrison; and as he enter'd, spoke thus to them, Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you: And since you cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice that the parliament is dissolv'd. Serjeant Bradshaw boldly answer'd; Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: But, Sir, you are mistaken, to think that the parliament is dissolv'd; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves: Therefore take you notice of that. Some others also spoke to the same purpose: But the council finding themselves to be under the same force, they all quietly departed.

CHAPTER

No. 44. THE



THE
LIFE
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART III.

*Containing his actions in the Protectorate;
from the dissolution of the Long Parliament,
to his Death.*

CHAP. I.

*From the dissolution of the long parliament, to
the meeting of Cromwell's first parliament.*

THE formidable body at Westminster
being thus forcibly dissolved, the lord-
general and his party were very busy in
consulting

consulting how to manage the government, which by this means was fallen into their hands. This single action made Cromwell master of three kingdoms; for tho' he did not take upon himself the title of Protector, till several months after, yet his power in effect was the same, from the very moment that he succeeded in this bold undertaking: Soon after which, he sent for major Salloway and Mr. John Carew, and complained to them of the great weight of affairs that by this means was fallen upon him; affirming, that the thoughts of the consequence thereof made him to tremble; and therefore desir'd them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the chief justice St. John, and Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government, that might put the power out of his hands. To this major Salloway answer'd, The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded, that the power of this nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was. This answer was thought to be not very agreeable to the general, who now appointed a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to deliberate whi-

was proper to be done in this exigency; and with their advice, he, in the first place, publish'd a declaration of the grounds and reasons for their dissolving the late parliament, which was to the following effect:

• That after God was pleas'd marvellously to appear for his people, in reducing of Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet; whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in reverence to civil and spiritual things; whereunto they were oblig'd by their duty, engagements, and those great and wonderful things God hath wrought for them; they notwithstanding made so little progress therein, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land; who the upon apply'd themselves to the army, expecting redress by their means? who (tho' unwilling to meddle with the civil authority) agreed that such officers, as were members of parliament, should move them to procee vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the commonwealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of justice and righteousness; which being done, it was hop'd the parliament would have answer'd their expectations. But finding the contrary they renew'd their desires by an humble petition

petition in August. 1652, which produc'd no considerable effect, nor was any such progress made therein, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was petition'd for, but rather an averseness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them; insomuch that the godly party in parliament were render'd of no farther use than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, for effecting their designs of perpetuating themselves in the supreme government. For obviating these evils, the officers of the army obtain'd several meetings with some of the parliament, to consider what remedy might be apply'd to prevent the same: But such endeavours proving ineffectual, it became evident, that this parliament through the corruption of some, the jealousy of others, and the non-attendance of many, would never answer those ends, which God, his people, and the whole nation expected from them; but that this cause, which God had so greatly blefs'd, must needs languish under their hands, and by degrees be lost; and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people be deliver'd into their enemies hands. All which being sadly and seriously consider'd by the honest people of the nation, as well as by the army, it seem'd a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen

seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish righteousness and peace in these nations. And after much debate, it was judg'd necessary, that the supreme government should be by the parliament devolv'd upon known persons fearing God, and of approv'd integrity, for a time, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice impartially ; hoping thereby the people might forget monarchy, and understand their true interest in the election of successive parliaments ; that so the government might be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up armies for the defence of the same. And being still resolv'd to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courles, we prevail'd with about twenty members of parliament to give us a conference ; with whom we plainly debated the necessity and justice of our proposals ; the which found no acceptance, but instead thereof, it was offer'd, That the way was, to continue still this parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently insisted on did much confirm us in our apprehensions, that not any love to a representative, but the making use there-

of to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim in the act they had then under consideration. For preventing the consummating whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which, upon the grounds aforesaid, must have ensu'd, and whereby at one blow the interest of all honest men and of this glorious cause had been endanger'd to be laid in the dust, and these nations embroil'd in new troubles, at a time when our enemies abroad were watching all advantages against, and some of them actually engag'd in war with us; we have been necessitated (tho' with much reluctance) to put an end to this parliament. Then they promis'd, to put the government into the hands of per'ons of approv'd fidelity and honesty; and at last declar'd, 'That all magistrates and officers whatsoever shall proceed in their respective places and offices, and obedience shall be paid to them as fully, as when the parliament was sitting.'

This declaration was subscrib'd by the lord-general, and his council of officers, Whitehall, April 22d, 1653. Which council of officers and some others, were soon after form'd into a council of state, which was compos'd of the thirty following persons; Cromwell, Fleetwood, Lambert, Lisle, Harrison, Desborough, Pickering, Wollesly, Ashley-Cooper, Hope, Hewson,

**Son, Norton, Montague, Bennet, Staapeley,
Sydenham, Tomlinson, Jones, Tichburn,
Strickland, Carew, Howard, Broughton,
Lawrence, Holister, Courtney, Major, St.
Nicholas, Moyer, and Williams.**

The dissolution of the parliament was very grateful and acceptable to a great many people; and this declaration, being sent out into all the dominions of the common-wealth was answer'd by many congratulations and addresses from the fleet, and army, and people, promising to stand by the genera: and his council of officers, and acknowledging the justice of the late action.) (And this, by the way, gave rise to the practice of addressing, which beginning first under Oliver and his son Richar:, has been so common in all the reigns since.) The said declaration was on the 20th day of April teconded by this ensuing, which met with equal submission and obedience.

‘ Whereas the parliament being dissolv'd, persons of approv'd fidelity and honesty are (according to the late declaration of the 22d of April last) to be called from the several parts of this common-wealth to the supreme authority; and although effectual proceeding: are, an: have been had, for perfecting those resolutions; yet some convenient time being requir'd for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary,

for

for preventing the mischiefs and inconveniences which may arise in the mean while to the publick affairs, that a council of state be constituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, safety, and present management of the affairs of this commonwealth; which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declar'd and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof, and in their several places and stations, demean themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the nation as heretofore; in the exercise and administration whereof, as endeavours shall be used that no oppression or wrong be done to the people, so a strict account will be required of all such as shall do any thing to endanger the publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence whatsoever.

Subscribed O. Cromwell.

The lord general Cromwell having now in effect the supreme power in his hands, the first remarkable passage, that befel him, was at sea. The Dutch had form'd mighty expectations from the late revolutions in England, believing, the English would by this means be brought to fall together by the ears, and so their work would be very easie with them. With these hopes, notwithstanding their late pretences to peace, they with all imaginable diligence, set out a greater fleet to sea, than they had done

before, and Van Trump boasted he would fire the English ships in their harbours, and the Downs, before the English fleet could get out: But the new government, well knowing what credit was to be given to the Dutch protestations, of their sincere love and affection to the English nation, &c. were not behind-hand with them, but did every thing that might advance the maritime preparations; so that in May they sent out another gallant fleet consisting of a hundred ships of all sorts, under the command of Monk and Dean as admirals, Pen as vice-admiral, and Lawson as rear-admiral. On the 2d of June, early in the morning, they engaged the Dutch fleet under Van Trump, De Ruyter, De Wit, and the two Evertsons, consisting of a hundred and four men of war, twelve galliots, and nine fireships. This fight happened not far from the coast of Flanders, the beginning of which was so fatal, that at the first broad-side of the enemy, Admiral Dean was shot off almost in the middle by a cannon ball. The fight continued till three in the afternoon; when the wind coming up contrary to the English, the Dutch fled, and were pursued by the lightest of the English frigates. The next morning, the two fleets found themselves again near each other, but the wind was so slack, that Monk could not come up to engage

gage the enemy till about noon ; and then the battle began again, and continued very hot on both sides, till ten at night : The English fleet charged the Dutch with so much bravery and resolution, that they put them into very great disorder ; so that tho' Van Trump fired on them to rally them, he could not procure above twenty ships of his whole fleet to stand by him, the rest making all the sail they could away to the eastward : And the wind blowing a fresh gale from the westward, the English pursu'd them with such success, that they sunk six of their best ships blew up two others, and took eleven, with thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners, among whom were six of their principal captains.

Towards the end of this battle, admiral Blake came in with eighteen fresh ships ; and had not the Dutch shelter'd themselves between Dunkirk and Calais, where t'was not safe for the English to expose their great ships, by reason of the sands, most of their fleet had in all probability been taken or destroyed.

The loss of the English was greatest in their admiral Dean : Besides him there was but one captain, and about a hundred and fifty common seamen kill'd : More were wounded, but they lost not one ship. Having put their prisoners on shoar, and left

some of their ships to be refitted, they returned to the coast of Holland, where for some time they block'd up the Dutch in their own harbours, and ply'd to and again betwixt the Texel and the Uly, to hinder ships coming out from thence to join with that part of the Dutch fleet which was got into the Wielings, and to stop up their trade and fishing.

At home, general Cromwell and his council of officers were in the mean time very busy in preparing for a new kind of parliament. Major general Lambert mov'd, that a few persons; not exceeding the number of ten or twelve, might be intrusted with the supreme authority : Major general Harrison was for a greater number, and inclin'd most to that of 70, as being the number of the the Jewish Sanhedrim. But after some debate, it was resolved by the general and his council to summon select persons, to be nominated by themselves, out of every county; who shou d be a representative of the whole nation: And the several persons having been agreed upon, letters from the general were thus directed to each of them.

Forasmuch as upon the dissolution of the late parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety and good government of this common-wealth should be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers persons fearing

ing God, and of approv'd fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed; and having good assurance of your love to, and courage for God, and the interest of this cause, and of the good people of this common-wealth: I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised and to be raised within this common-wealth, do hereby summon and require you, being one of the persons nominated, personally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall within the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July, next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby call'd, and appointed to serve as a member of the county of — And hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand this eighth day of June, 1653.
O. Cromwell.

Before the meeting of this convention, several other acts of authority were perform'd by the general. On the 14th of June, he and the council of state put forth a declaration, ‘ To invite all the good people in these nations to thankfulness, and holy rejoicing in the Lord, for the late great victory at sea against the Dutch.’

And

And he appointed a day for the meeting of himself and his council of officers, for that purpose.

Many people were the more pleas'd with this, because it was not a command imposed on them, but only an invitation to keep a day of publick thanksgiving. On the 22d that there might be no interruption to the administration of justice, the general with the council of state nominated the judges for the summer circuit. And a few days after, they passed an order, forbidding all riotous assemblies in the great level of the fens, and the throwing down of fences and inclosures there.



C H A P. II.

From the meeting of his First Parliament, to his being declared Protector by the Instrument of Government.

THE several persons summon'd by general Cromwell to take upon them the supreme authority, appeared on the appointed day, July 4. about eleven weeks after the dissolution of the late parliament, in the council chamber at Whitehall, to the number

number of about a hundred and twenty. Being set round the table, the general, attended by many of his officers, standing about the middle of the table, made a speech to them, ‘ Of the fear of God, and the honour due to his name ; remembering them of the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and the continued series of providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his cause, and bringing affairs into that present glorious condition, wherein they now were. Then he reminded them of the noble actions of the army in the famous battle of Worcester, and of the applications they had made to the parliament for a good settlement of all the affairs of the commonwealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it. Hence he shew’d them the cause of their summons, and assured them by many arguments, some of which were taken from scripture, That they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the commonwealth. He said, that he never look’d to see such a day, when Jesus Christ should be so owned, as this day was ; and that he had not allow’d himself in the choice of one person, in whom he had not this good hope, That there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people.’ And concluded with a very earnest desire, ‘ That great tenderness

tenderness might be used towards all conscientious persons, of what judgment soever they appear'd to be.'

His speech being ended, he deliver'd to them an instrument engross'd in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this common-wealth into the hands of the persons then met; and declared, ' That they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledg'd the supreme authority of the nation, unto whom all persons within the same were to yield obedience and subjection; that they should not sit longer than the third of Noyember, 1654, and three months before their dissolution, should make choice of other persons to succeed them; who were not to sit longer than a year, and to provide for a like succession in the government.

Then the general and his officers withdrew and the persons thus commission'd adjourn'd themselves to the next day, to meet in the parliament house; where they kept a fast, and published a declaration, To stir up the godly of the nation to seek God for a blessing upon their proceedings. They chose Mr. Rouse, an old gentleman of Eton college, who had been a member of the long parliament to be their speaker; resolv'd,

that

that general Cromwell and his chief officers, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and Thonlinson, should sit in the house as members, and at once voted themselves to be the parliament of the common-wealth of England, and that all addresses should be made to them under that title. Then they appointed several committees; 1. To consider matters touching the law. 2. Touching prisoners and prisons. 3. For inspection into treasuries, and easing publick charges. 4. For Ireland. 5. For Scotland. 6. For the Army. 7. For petitions. 8. To consider what shall be offered about publick debts, publick fraud and breaches of trust. 9. For regulating commissions of the peace, and for making provision for the poor. 10. For advance of trade. 11. For advancement of learning. And they referred it to a committee to consider of the law that hinder'd the progress of the gospel, that they might be repeal'd. The chief laws made by this assembly were these: One for punishing seditious sea-men: Another for marrying by justices of the peace and registering marriages, births, and burials: A third concerning the plantation of Iceland, settling the lands there upon the adventurers and soldiers: A fourth for payment of some publick debts.

Whitelock says, It was much wondered by some, that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and knowledge, would upon such a summons, and from such hands, take upon them the supreme authority of this nation. The lord Clarendon informs us, that there were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted: But he says, that much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name. Ludlow gives them this character: Many of the members of this assembly had manifested a good affection to the publick cause; (he means a commonwealth;) But some among them were brought in as spies and trepanners; who, though they had always been of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty, and the service of the nation. This assembly therefore being compos'd for the most part of honest and well meaning persons, who having good intentions, were less apt to suspect the evil designs of others, thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation, &c. And others spake thus of them: This very parliament, which had indeed procured very beneficial orders in matter of lesser mo-

ment, in the greater concernments had not so good fortune. There was so much confusion in their counsels, such a contrariety in their opinions, such a dissonancy in their actings, and disparity in their aims and projections, as that this senate was more like a monster with many heads, than a well-ordered grand assembly or supreme council.' One Praise-God Barebones, a Leather-seller in Fleet street, was a very busy man in this assembly; whence it had the name of Barebones's parliament. It was also called by some the Little parliament; and from an order that none should be admitted into the service of the house, but such of whose real godliness they were first satisfy'd, it was call'd the Godly parliament.

Under this change of government, lieutenant colonel John Liburn, whose turbulent spirit in the time of the late parliament had procur'd his banishment, now finding their power at an end, came over into England, and very confidently address'd himself to general Cromwell for protection: But the general well knowing of what spirit John was, committed him to Newgate, and left him to the law: Whereby he underwent a strict trial, in which he discover'd his parts and subtlety by the variety of his pleat, and his invincible temper by the boldnes of his replies; and by the fa-

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voir of the jury was at last acquitted. Oliver seem'd to be much offended with him, and very desirous to have him punished; yet privately paid him a pension equivalent to a lieutenant-colonel's pay. This person was of so undaunted and ungovernable a temper, as can scarce be parallel'd in any nation. He was whipp'd and pillory'd in the time of the late king, and suffer'd three years imprisonment, till the times turn'd; when coming into play again, he became a grand leveller, and violent opposer of all that was uppermost. He obtain'd the name of Free-born John, and had such an inviterate spirit of contradiction, that 'twas commonly said of him. That if the world was emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John. Cromwell kept him in prison for some time; and he at last died a quaker.

The Dutch were so humbled by the late defeat, that they immediately took up a resolution for peace, and sent over to England a vessel with a white flag, and a messenger to prepare the way for two ambassadors to come over for that purpose. General Cromwell was not averse to a treaty, but would allow of no cessation till it was concluded.

This being known in Holland, they could not bear to think of suffering so long the disadvantage

disadvantage of being besieg'd, and shut up in their ports; but with all possible expedition prepar'd another fleet, that might be sufficient to remove the English from thence; so that in less than two months after their defeat, they had a fleet of an hundred and twenty-five sail.

From these wonderful preparations, they had so great confidence of success, that they sent admiral Van Trump out of the Weilings with ninety-five sail, before the rest were ready, which De Wit soon after brought up to him from the Texel.

On the 29th of July, the English scouts discover'd Van Trump's fleet; of which they gave notice, that the whole fleet which then lay about three leagues off to sea, might make up to engage them; But the wind being against them, kept them from any action, till about six in the evening; when about thirty nimble frigates (the rest being still a stern) began the encounter, which continu'd till they were part'd by the night.

The Dutch bore away towards the Texel, and being reinforce'd by the ships under De Wit, which were the prime of their navy, whereon they chiefly rely'd, Van Trump immediately endeavour'd to put all in a fighting posture, designing to engage the next day; when the wind being very high,
the

the English fleet, for fear of falling upon the flats, stood out to sea. This made many of the Dutch suppose that the English were flying; insomuch that one of the captains said to Van Trump, Sir, these dogs durst not stand one broadside from your excellency; you may see them plainly running home; and therefore, my lord, miss not the opportunity. But Van Trump, who had had sufficient experience of the English, and knew the meaning of their standing off, gave him this short answer, Do you look to your charge; for if the English were but twenty sail, I am sure they would fight us. The next morning proving fair, both fleets prepared for the battle; and about five a clock, the Dutch having the weathergage, began the fight somewhat at a distance; but it was not long before both fleets were desperately engag'd,

The sea was never adorned with a more gallant fight in the beginning of the day, nor cover'd with a more dismal one in the latter end; and no fight was ever carry'd on with more bloody obstinacy and rage, than this was for several hours together. In the midst of this terrible encounter, admiral Van Trump, the glory of the Dutch nation, as he stood upon his quarter deck with his sword drawn, bravely encouraging his men, being shot into the heart, with a musquet-ball,

ball, dropt down dead without speaking a word.

This struck such a terror into the enemy, and put them in such confusion, that they fled and made all the sail they could towards the Texel. About thirty of their men of war were fir'd or sunk, and a great many prisoners taken. The victory was great, but cost the English dear, for eight of their brave captains, with about four hundred men were slain, and about seven hundred wounded; tho' they lost but one ship. This victory was so acceptable to general Cromwell's parliament, that they appointed a day of thanksgiving for it, and ordered a narrative of it to be publickly read; and gave several goldchains to Blake, Monk, Penn, and Lawson, for their good service, and a gratuity to the rest of the officers and seamen, according to their quality: And it is said, that the lord general himself put the chain and the medal, with the representation of a sea-fight, about Monk's neck; and having invited him to dinner, made him wear it all the while.

In Holland, after this last defeat, and the loss of their brave admiral, all things were in great confusion and distraction: The common people no longer obey'd their government; the placarts of the states-general were contemn'd, and they in danger

to be ruin'd and plunder'd by the ignorant and furious rabble. They therefore with all submission applied themselves by their ambassadors to the English council of state; but from them they could obtain no other terms of peace, than a coalition, satisfaction for damages, and security against the like for the future, and that the Dutch should take a lease for twenty one years for fishing, and pay an annual rent. The council of state being thus resolute, the Plenipotentiaries resolv'd to try what terms of peace might be had from the parliament: But here they were more confounded and perplex'd than before; they found it was very difficult to treat with, and impossible to prevail upon these men, who took the Dutch for the out-works of Babylon, and look'd upon them as carnal and worldly politicians, and enemies to the kingdom of Christ, which they thought was now approaching. In this difficult conjuncture, the states met to consult what was fit to be done. It was the opinion of Holland, never to enter into a coalition with England, but that a strict league defensive should be propos'd; that they ought to contract foreign amities, particularly with France, and to equip out a fleet with all expedition. The rest of the provinces were for making a league with the elector of Brandenburg, and other German princes,

princes, and for assisting the Scots; many of whom were now rising under major general Middleton. But these treaties were remote and dangerous, whilst their necessities were present; for which reason they gave orders to their plenipotentiaries, ‘ To protract time according as they saw disorders to encrease between Cromwell and his supreme authority; to be ample in the general’s concerning the defence of the reformed religion, and of the houſhold of faith; to reject the coalition, to offer to enter into a ſtrict and intimate league; but deal as tenderly as they could in point of reparati-
on, ſatisfaction, or ſecurity.

This being all known to the council of state, it was communicated to the parliament; who theretupon ſaid, ‘ That it was no more than was prophesy’d in scripture; and in course to be expected, That the gentiles should rage, and the kings of the earth ſet themſelves againſt the kingdom of Christ; but they ſhould fall before him, and be broken in pieces.’ And they refolv’d now to humble them, by imposing very hard and mortifying articles upon them; ſo that they ſeemed to be in no better ſtate, than before the long parliament was diſolv’d. In this extremity the Dutch plenipotentiaries made their applications to the lord-general Cromwell, affuring him,

' That in case he would depose the present powers, and assume the government to himself, they would be ready to accord with him, upon more moderate terms, and enter into such a defensive alliance, as would secure him against all his foreign and domestick enemies.'

The general found, that the proceedings of this parliament, tho' all of his own chusing, were so common and unaccountable in many particulars, that none could judge of their designs, or where they would end. And so upon both these accounts he resolv'd to put a period to their power; and the means of doing it were concert'd with Rouse the speaker, and some of the general's select friends in the house, who were to bring it to bear with as little disturbance as might be.

Accordingly, on the 12th of December in the morning, the members, who were in the secret, being a little earlier than usual, it was mov'd in the house, ' That the sitting of this parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to resign up their powers into the hands of the lord-general. This being seconded and urged by Sydenham Wolsey, and others, the members on the contrary side, who were there, were much startled and spoke vehemently

vehemently against it: Upon which, those who were for a resignation, being apprehensive, that by delaying time more might come to the house and out-vote them, presently mov'd, That all who were for a dissolution, should rise and walk out. Accordingly, the speaker and as many members as would follow him, went with the mace to Whitehall, and by a writing under their hands, resign'd up their powers to the general.

Above twenty of the members, whereof major-general Harrison was one, continuing still in the house, plac'd Mr. Moyer in the chair, and fell to protesting against what the rest had done; but a party of soldiers was sent to turn them out, and so a period was put to this assembly, after a session of five months and eight days;

By this resignation, the politick Cromwell, with his council of officers, was once more possess'd of the supreme power of the kingdom; whereupon he thought fit to advise with them, and other persons of interest in the nation, How this great burden of governing England, Scotland and Ireland, with the armies therein, and the navy at sea, should be born, and by whom. These soon resolv'd, That a council of godly, able and discreet persons should be named; and

and that the Lord General should be chosen Lord Protector of the three nations.

Upon this, a large instrument was drawn up, entitl'd, The government of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; commonly call'd, The instrument of government. It consisted of forty two articles, and was in substance as follows:

' That the supreme legislative authority be, and reside in a single person, and the people in parliament; the stile of which person to be Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The executive power to be in the Protector, with the advice of his council; the number whereof not to exceed twenty one, nor be less than thirteen. All proceedings to run in the name and stile of the Lord Protector; and all honours, offices and titles to be derived from him; and that he may pardon all offences but treason and murder. The militia, in time of parliament to be in his and their hands; but in the intervals only in his and his council's. He and his council to make war and peace with foreign princes. Not to make new laws or abrogate old ones, without consent of parliament. A parliament to be summon'd to meet at Westminister upon the third day of September, 1654, and afterwards every third year, and, if need be, oftner, which the Protector shall

not

not dissolve without consent in parliament, till after five months.

The parliament to consist of four hundred English to be chosen according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expressed, that is to say, for the county of Bedford, six; viz. for the town of Bedford, one; for the county of Bedford, five. For the county of Berks, seven; viz. for the borough of Abingdon, one; for the borough of Reading, one; for the county of Berks, five, &c. (The members for Cornwall were in this instrument reduc'd to twelve; those for Essex were enlarg'd to sixteen; and the city of London was to chuse six.) The members for Scotland were to be thirty, and the same number for Ireland. The summoning the parliament to pass under the seal of the common-wealth to the sheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny that, then the commissioner of the seal to be held under pain of treason to issue out such writs; and in case of failure in him, the high sheriffs. Such as are elected, to be return'd into the Chancery by the chief magistrates (sheriffs, mayors, or bailiffs) within twenty days after the election. If either the sheriff, mayor or bailiff make a false return, or any way's procure an untrue election, let him be fin'd two thousand pounds. Those who have borne arms against the parliament to be incapable

pable of being elected, or giving their vote for any members to serve in the next parliament, or in the three succeeding triennial parliaments; and Irish rebels and Papists to be for ever incapable. None to be elected under the age of twenty one years, nor unless he be a man of good conversation. None to have votes in elections, but such as are worth 200 l. Sixty to make a Quorum. Bills presented to the Protector, if not assented to by him within twenty days, to pass into laws, notwithstanding; provided they contain nothing contrary to this instrument. A competent revenue to be settled for the maintenance of ten thousand horse and dragoons, and twenty thousand foot in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for a convenient number of ships to guard the seas; and upon abating any of the forces by land or sea, the moneys to be brought to the Exchequer to serve sudden occasions. The raising of money for defraying the charge of the present extraordinary forces both at land and sea, to be by consent in parliament, and not otherwise; save only that the Protector with the advice of his council, shall have power, until the meeting of the first parliament, to raise money for the purposes aforesaid, and also to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations; which shall be in force till the

the parliament shall take order concerning the same. All forfeited lands unfold to belong to the Protector. The Protectorate to be elective, but the royal family to be excluded; and no Protector after the present to be general of the army. Oliver Cromwell to be the present Protector: All the great offices of the common wealth, such as chancellor, keeper of the seal, treasurer, admiral governours of Ireland and Scotland, &c. if they become void in time of parliament, to be supply'd with their approbation, and in intervals of parliament with the approbation of the council. The Christian Religion as contain'd in the holy scriptures, to be the publick profession of these nations; and those that administer it, to be maintain'd by the publick, but by some way more convenient and less liable to envy than tithes. None to be compell'd to consent to the publick profession, by fine or any punishment whatever, but only by persuasion and arguments. None that profess faith in Christ, however otherwise they differ, to be restrain'd from, but to be protect-ed in the exercise of their religion, so they do not quarrel with and disturb others; this liberty not to extend to Popery or Prelacy. All sales of parliament to stand good: Articles of peace to be kept. The Protectors successively upon entering on their charge,

charge, to swear to procure, by all means; the peace, quiet and welfare of the commonwealth, to observe these articles, and to administer all things (to their power) according to the laws, statutes and customs.'

All things being prepar'd, on the 16th of December about three in the afternoon, his Excellency the Lord General went from Whitehall to the Chancery court; in the following manner: The commissioners of the great seal march'd first; then the judges and barons in their robes; next to them the council of the common-wealth; then the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder of London; after them, came the Lord General, attended with the chief officers of the army.

In this procession they ascended the Chancery court, where was set a rich chair of state, with a large cushion, and carpets on the floor. The General stood on the left hand of it uncovered, till the foremention'd instrument was read; which his Excellency subscrib'd in the face of the court, and took an oath in these words:

' Whereas the major part of the last parliament (judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the good of the common-wealth) did dissolve the same, and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th day of this instant

stant December, resigned unto me their powers and authorities: And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the settlement of these nations upon such a basis and foundation, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure property, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty, so long contended for: And upon full and mature consideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being satisfy'd that the same, thro' divine assistance, may answer the ends aforesaid; and having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest and fidelity in the common wealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of these nations, in the manner expressed in the said form of government: I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly; and do promise in the presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein; but to my power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes and customs, seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administer'd.

This done, he sat down in the chair, cover'd; and the commissioners deliver'd up the great seal to him, and the lord-mayor his sword and cap of maintenance; which the Protector immediately return'd to them again. The ceremony being over, the soldiers with a shout cry'd out, God bless the Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England Scotland and Ireland. And so they went back to Whitehall, the lord-mayor uncover'd carrying the sword before his Highness. When they came into the Banqueting house, Mr. Lockier made an exhortation to them; and so the lord-mayor, aldermen and judges departed.

Presently after, the following proclamation, set forth by the council, was publish'd in the Palace-yard, at the Old Exchange, and several other places in London; and as soon as could be, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. 'Whereas the late parliament dissolving themselves, and resigning their powers and authorities, the government of the common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, by a Lord-Protector and successive triennial Parliaments, is now establish'd: And whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this common-wealth, is declar'd Lord Protector of the said nations,
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and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premises, and strictly to charge and command all, and every person and persons, of what quality and condition soever, in any of the said three nations, to take notice thereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the government so establish'd. And all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other publick ministers and officers, whom this may concern, are requir'd to cause this proclamation to be forthwith publish'd in their respective counties, cities, corporations, and market-towns; to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.' And now care was taken to alter all writs and processes, from the stile of the Keepers of the liberties of England, to that of Protector. Upon this new advancement, we are told, that Cromwell observ'd new and great state, and all ceremonies and respects were now paid to him by all sorts of men, as to their Prince.

Thus, as has been observ'd by many, did this extraordinary man, with so little pains, mount himself into the thrones of three kingdoms, without the title of King, but with more power and authority than had ever been exercis'd by any preceding King: He made the greatest figure in Europe in his time,

time, and receiv'd greater marks of respect and esteem from all the Kings and Princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewn to any Monarch of these nations; which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.



CHAP. III.

From his being declar'd Protector, to the meeting of his second Parliament.

Cromwell being thus rais'd to the power of a Monarch, proceeded in the exercise of his government, with the greatest vigour and industry. He and his council set forth several ordinances; among the rest, one declaring what offences should be adjudg'd treason; another for repealing those acts and resolves of parliament, which had formerly been made for subscribing to the Engagement against a single person and house of peers; another for appointing persons to be approvers of ministers. At his first assuming the government, there were three great parties in the nation all against him, the Episcopal party, the Presbyterians, and the Republicans: And it required

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the greatest dexterity and skill to manage these very opposite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conspiracies they were so ready to run into; He had only the army to rely upon; and that enthusiastick spirit he had taken so much pain to raise among them, render'd them very intractable; so that he was forc'd to break and imprison many of his officers; and he flatter'd the rest as well as he could, going on in his old way of long and dark discourses,

He was apprehensive of assassination, and other plottings from the Cavalier party; as to the former of which, he took a method that prov'd of great use to him: He would many times openly declare. That in a war it was necessary to return upon any side, all the vilest things that any of the one side did to the other; and this for the preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: And that assassinations were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him and fall in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family: And he pretended he had instruments to do this whenever he should order it. This struck such a terror, that it prov'd a better security to him than his guards.

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And whenever they were plotting against him, he had his agents and spies among them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their schemes were broken, and their designs frustrated, before they could bring them to perfection.

The Presbyterians so dreaded the fury of the common-wealth party, that they look'd upon Cromwell's turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them; and to soften these the more, he assur'd them he would maintain a publick ministry with all due encouragement, which the Republicans were mostly against; and he join'd them in a commission with some Independents to be Tryers of all publick preachers, who should, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The persons so commission'd did likewise dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedral churches.

Neverthelesſ, when he perceiv'd that the Presbyterians began to take too much upon them, to be uneasy to the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let loose against them those of the other sects, who took pleasure in disputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worship; and 'tis said, he was by many heard to glory, That

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he had curb'd that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself. So that they were forc'd to thank him for permitting them the exercise of their religious worship in their own congregations.

The Republican party were his greatest enemies, and most bent on his ruin, looking on him as the person who had perfidiously broken all their measures, and betray'd their glorious cause. This party therefore he studied by all means to divide among themselves, and to set the first monarchy men, and other enthusiasts, against those who proceeded only upon the principles of civil liberty; such as Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.

As to Vane and his party, who were likewise call'd Independents, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retir'd quietly into the country, where they endeavour'd to prejudice their neighbours against the present government, and yet managed themselves with so much caution, as not to disturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the Protector any great advantage against them.

The Levellers, many of whom had been the most active Agitators in his army, were the most furious and desperate of all the commonwealth party. These, from the time

time that the general assum'd the title of Protector, which was to them as odious as that of King, profess'd a mortal hatred to his person; and he knew very well that these men, as well as the last mention'd, had credit in his army, and with some of the chief officers; so that he more really dreaded them, than all the King's party, and subtilly colour'd many preparations he made against them, as if they were design'd against the other.

The first monarchy men seem'd to be in daily expectation of the coming of King Jesus, and the Protector found it no easy matter to give them satisfaction, since his assuming the government after this manner, look'd like a step to kingship, which they represented as the great Antichrist, which hindered Christ's being set on his throne. To these men he would say with many tears, ' That he would rather have taken a Shepherd's staff than the Protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius, than a shew of greatness: But he saw it was necessary at that time, to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy; and therefore he only stept in between the living and the dead, in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle; and then he would

would surrender the heavy load lying upon him with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected, while under that shew of dignity.⁵ He would also carry himself with great familiarity towards these men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down cover'd by him; that they might see how little he car'd for those distances, which for form sake he was forc'd to keep up with others; and their discourse commonly ended in a long prayer: Thus with much ado, he pretty well managed t' e Enthusiasts of the common-wealth party: As to the other Republicans, many of whom were inclin'd to Deism, he call'd them the Heathens, and acknowledged he could not so easily work upon them. He had some chaplains of all sorts, and became at length more gentle towards the Episcopal party, who had their meetings in several places about London, without being molested by him.

In the end, even the Roman Catholicks courted him; and he with wonderful art carry'd things farther with all parties than was thought possible, considering the great difficulties he had to encounter with.

That he might the better manage the several factions he stood most in awe of, he made choice of the most active and leading

men into his council, by whose influence he had the guiding of all the rest of each party. The first persons nominated to be of his council, pursuant to the instrument of government, were major-general Lambert, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Montague, (afterwards made Earl of Sandwich by King Charles II.) Philip lord viscount Lisle (since Earl of Leicester) colonel Desborough, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) Sir Charles Wolsley, major-general Skippon, Mr. Strickland, colonel Sydenham, colonel Jones, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Major; in all fifteen.

On the 21st of December, a proclamation was published by his Highness, with the advice and consent of his council, in the following terms: Oliver, Lord Protector of the common wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, considering, That whereas the exercise of the chief magistracy, and the administration of government, within the said common wealth is invested and established in his Highness, assisted with a council; and lest thereupon the settled and ordinary course of justice in the common wealth (if remedy were not provided) might receive interruption; his Highness in the care of the state and publick justice thereof (reserving to future consideration the reformation and

and redress of any abuses by misgovern-
ment, upon better knowledge taken thereof) is pleased, and doth hereby expressly signify, declare, and ordain, by and with the ad-
vice and consent of his council (who have power, until the meeting of the next par-
liament, to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations, where it shall be necessary; which shall be binding and in force, until order shall be taken in parliament concerning the same) That all persons who on the tenth day of this instant December, were duly and law-
fully possessed of any place of judicature, or office of authority, jurisdiction, or govern-
ment, within this common wealth, shall be, and shall so hold themselves, continued in the said offices and places respectively, as formerly they held and enjoy'd the same, and not otherwise, until his Highness's pleasure be further known: And all the commissions, patents, and other grants, which respect or relate unto the doing and executing of publick justice, and all proceed-
ings of what nature soever in courts of com-
mon law or equity, or in the court of admiralty, or by commissioners of sewers, shall stand and be in the same and like force to all intents and purposes, as the same were on the said tenth day of this instant December, until farther order given by his Highness
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therein: And that in the mean time (for preservation of the publick peace, and necessary proceedings in matters of justice and for safety of the state) all the said persons, of whatsoever place, power, degree or condition, may not fail, every one severally, according to his respective place, office, or charge, to proceed in the performance and execution of all duties thereunto belonging, as formerly appertaining to them, and every of them, whilst the former government was in being. Given at Whitehall this 21st day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1653.

On the 27th the Lord Protector and his council pass'd an ordinance, for continuing the excise and the commissioners: Another for continuing the act for redemption of captives: And a third for the alteration of several names and forms, used heretofore in courts, writs, grants, patents, commissions, &c. and settling proceedings in courts of law and equity. And shortly after, another ordinance was pass'd, appointing a committee of the army, and treasures at war, as formerly. These and a great many other ordinances were pass'd by the Lord Protector and his council, before the meeting of the parliament. His Highness apply'd himself very closely to business, and was

was indefatigable in the management of the publick affairs.

All things seeming to favour the Protector and his government, both at home and abroad, he was invited by the lord mayor and aldermen to dine at Grocers-hall on the 8th day of February, being Ash-Wednesday. Accordingly, he rode thither in great state, the streets being rail'd on both sides, and the rails cover'd with blue cloth, and the several companies in their liveries standing all the way, according to their superiority, with the city banner and streamers of the respective companies set before them. The lord mayor Viner, with the aldermen in scarlet and gold chains, rode to Temple-bar, where meeting his Highness with his train, he deliver'd up the sword to him, and after a short congratulatory speech, they proceeded to Grocers-hall in the following manner: The city-marshal, with some other officers, marched first; then six trumpets, and after them his Highness's life-guard; next, eight trumpets more, followed by the city-streamers; then the aldermen, and the two sheriffs after them; then his Highness's heralds, with rich coats, adorn'd with the arms of the common-wealth. After them, the mace and cap of maintenance were carried before the lord mayor, who carried the

the Lord Protector, who followed with twelve footmen in grey liveries laced with silver, and other ornaments. After the Protector rode major-general Skippon, with the rest of the council, and the great officers of the army. Being come to Grocers-hall, the recorder made a speech to his Highness, declaring, ‘ How happy that city did account themselves under his auspicious government, and also in the enjoyment of his presence with them that day.’ Then he was feasted in a most splendid and magnificent manner, and before his departure he knighted the lord mayor with as much grace as if he had been king.

At this feast, we are told, that when it was proposed to serve him on the knee, he refus’d it with some disdain, saying, ‘ Such ceremonics should be only practised at Rome, where they are so greedy of ceremonics, or kingdoms govern’d by tyrants; but should be banished out of a Christian and Protestant common-wealth, as was that of England.

Within a short time after, his Highness invited the lord-mayor, aldermen and sheriffs to dine with him at Whitehall: And it was observed, that in all his entertainments, audiences, &c. he maintain’d the port of a great Prince, as much as if he had been so born and bred; that his soul extended

tended itself always in proportion to the room that was given it, and in whatever space he stood, he always fill'd it. And now addresses were presented to the Lord Protector, from all parts of the three nations, congratulating his accession to the government; and several foreign ministers came over to him, acknowledging his power, courting his alliance, and giving him his title of Highness.

The Lord Protector soon concluded the peace with the Dutch, having brought them to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them: Among which one was, 'That they should not permit any of the king's party, or any enemy of the commonwealth of England, to reside within their dominions;' and another, which was contain'd in a secret article, to which the great seal of the States was affix'd, whereby they oblig'd themselves, 'Never to permit the Prince of Orange to be their Stadholder, General or Admiral; and also to deliver up the island of Pocrone, in the East-Indies, which they had taken from the English in the reign of King James, into the hands of the English East-India company; and to pay three hundred thousand pounds for the old barbarous violence exercis'd towards the English at Amboyna,' for which the two last kings could not obtain any satisfaction:

' That

• That they should comply with the act of Navigation; and that they should own the sovereignty of the sea to be in the commonwealth of England, and no more dispute the flag.' And thus about the beginning of April, the whole peace was concluded between the Lord Protector and the States General, with all the advantages to himself he could desire.

The Lord Protector, according to the power given him by the instrument of government, supply'd the benches of the court at Westminster, with the ablest of the lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick service. Mr. Maynard, Twisden, Nudigate, Windham, &c. were made serjeants at law; and Mr. Matthew Hale one of the justices of the common pleas, &c. Mr. John Thurloe, who had been secretary to the chief-justice St. John, when he was ambassador at the Hague, was advanced to the office of secretary of state. And to keep the other two nations in order and obedience, his Highness sent general Monk back again into Scotland, and his youngest son Henry Cromwell into Ireland, whom he made his lieutenant of that kingdom.

As the Protector discover'd a wonderful genius in the management of affairs at home, so his power and policy were more and more observed and reverenc'd abroad; and all

all nations now contemned, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him. Denmark had the favour of being taken into the Dutch treaty, upon the good terms of making the States responsible for one hundred and forty thousand pounds, to repair the damage which the English suffered from the Danes. About the same time, by the negotiation of his ambassador Whitelock, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of Sweden. He forced Portugal to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to make satisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving Prince Rupert, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought even the two crowns of France and Spain, to sue for his alliance: For which purpose, the ambassador of the former, Monsieur de Bordeaux, had an audience of his Highness in the Banqueting-house, Whitehall, on the 29th of March, with the same state and ceremony, as is wont to be us'd towards sovereign Princes; when he addressed himself thus to him.

‘ Your most serene Highness has already receiv'd some principal assurances of the King my master, of his desire to establish a perfect correspondency betwixt his dominions and England. His Majesty, this day, gives to your Highness some publick demon-

stration of the same; and his sending his ambassador to your Highness, does plainly shew, that the esteem which his Majesty makes of your Highness, and interest of his people, have more power in his councils than many considerations, that would be of great concernment to a Prince less affected with the one and other. This proceeding, grounded upon such principles, and so different from what is only guided by ambition, renders the amity of the King my master as considerable for its firmness as its utility; for which reason it is so eminently esteemed and courted by all the greatest Princes and Potentates of the earth. But his Majesty communicates none to any with so much joy and cheerfulness, as to those whose virtuous acts and extraordinary merits render them more conspicuously famous, than the largeness of their dominions. His Majesty is sensible, that all those advantages do wholly reside in your Highness; and that the divine providence, after so many calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three nations, to cause them to forget their past miseries with greater satisfaction, than by submitting them to so just a government. And since it is not sufficient for the compleatting of their happiness, to make them enjoy peace at home, because it depends no less on good correspondency with nations abroad;

broad; the King my master does not doubt but to find also the same disposition in your Highness, which his Majesty here expresses in his letters. After so many dispositions expressed both by his Majesty and your Highness, towards the accommodation of the two nations, there is reason to believe, that their wishes will be soon accomplish'd. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to serve the King my master, with the good pleasure and satisfaction of your Highness; and that the happiness I have, to tender to your Highness the first assurances of his majesty's esteem, may give me occasion, by my services, to merit the honour of your gracious affection.

The Protector's zeal for the protestant religion appear'd on several occasions; of which I shall here insert one instance, leaving others to some following periods of this history. It is that of a letter to the Prince of Tarente in France, which is as follows:

‘ Oliver, Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c To the most illustrious prince of Tarente, greeting: It was a very great pleasure and satisfaction to me, to perceive by your Highness's letter which you sent me, your love of religion, and your extraordinary zeal and concern for the reformed churches, especially consider-

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ing your quality, and that you live in a country where such great things are promised to all persons of your rank, if they forsake the orthodox faith, and so many discouragements are laid in the way of those who continue steadfast. Nor was it less pleasing to me, to find that your Highness approved of my care and concern for the same religion, than which nothing ought to be more dear and precious to me. And I call God to witness, how desirous I am, according as I have ability and opportunity, to answer the hope and expectation which you say the churches have concerning me, and to manifest it to all. Indeed I should esteem it the greatest and best fruit of my labours, and of this dignity, or office, which I hold in this common-wealth, to be put in a capacity of being serviceable either to the enlargement, or the safety, or, which is the chief of all, the peace of the reformed church. And I earnestly exhort your Highness that you would hold fast to the end the orthodox religion you have received from your fathers, with a firmness and constancy of mind equal to the piety and zeal you discover in the profession of it. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy of yourself, and of your most pious parents; and, though I could desire all things for your sake, yet I can wish you nothing better, nothing.

nothing more excellent, in return for the civilities you have shown me, than that you so conduct yourself, that the churches, especially those of your own country, in whose discipline you were born with so happy a disposition and of such a noble family, may find in you a protection answerable to the high station in which you are placed above others. Farewell. Whitehall, June 26, 1654. Your Highness's most affectionate and most devoted,

OLIVER.

The Lord Protector had resolv'd more firmly to unite the three nations into one common-wealth. Accordingly, with consent of his council, he made an ordinance, April the 12th, declaring, 'How he had taken into consideration, that the people of Scotland ought to be united with the people of England, into one common-wealth, and under one government; and had found, that in December 1651, the parliament then sitting had sent commissioners into Scotland, to invite the people of that nation unto such a happy union; who proceeded so far therein, that the shires and boroughs did accept of the said union, and assent thereto; For the compleating and perfecting which union, he now ordain'd, That all the people of Scotland, and of all the dominions

minions and territories thereunto belonging, should be incorporated into one commonwealth, thirty persons should be call'd from, and serve for Scotland, &c.' And shortly after, another ordinance was made for a like distribution of thirty members from Ireland, to serve in the parliament at Westminster. About the same time an ordinance was published, prohibiting the planting of Tobacco in England; which is a law at this day.

About this time several persons were apprehended, and charg'd with a conspiracy to murder the Lord Protector as he should be going to Hampton-court, to seize the guard, the Tower of London, and the magazines, and to proclaim the King. The chief of these were Mr. Somerset Fox, Mr. John Gerard, and Mr. Vowel; who being tried by a high court of justice, and condemn'd, Fox, who confess'd much of what was alledg'd against him, had the benefit of a reprieve; but Gerard was beheaded on Tower hill, and Vowel hang'd at Charing-cross; both of them denying what they were accus'd of, and dying with great magnanimity and resolution.

On the same day there was another execution of an extraordinary nature: Don Pantaleon Sa, the Portugal ambassador's brother, a Knight of Malta, and a person eminent in many great actions, who out of curiosit

riosity to see England, came over with the ambassador, happen'd to have a quarrel in the New-Exchange with the foremention'd Mr. Gerard; to revenge which, he went thither the next day, with servants arm'd with swords and pistols; where they kill'd another man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded several others. Upon this there was rais'd a great tumult, and the Portuguese flying to the ambassador's, the people came flocking thither from all parts to seize the murderers. Cromwell being inform'd of the matter, sent an officer, with a party of soldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more especially demanded of the ambassador the person of his brother, threat'ning, if he was not deliver'd up, to break open the house, and take him out by force.

The ambassador insisted upon the privilege due to his houē by the law of nations, and desir'd time to send to the Protector, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requested an audience. His Highness sent him word, ' That a gentleman had been mur'd, and others woun ed, and that Justice must be satisfied; requiring, that all persons concern'd might be deliver'd up to his officer; without which, if he shou'd withdraw his soldiers, the people wou'd execute justice, by a way for

for which he would not be answerable: But this being done, he should have an audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power to give. The ambassador finding it vain to contend, and the multitude encrassing their cry, That they would pull down the house, he was, to his great grief, forc'd to deliver up his brother with the rest who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador was most earnest in his sollicitations for his brother, being willing the others should be left to the law; but all the answer he could have, was, That justice must be done. And justice was done to the utmost; for being all try'd by a jury of half English and half foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and among them the ambassador's brother, were condemn'd to die. All were hang'd at Tyburn, says the Lord Clarendon; Whitelock says they were all repriev'd, except Don Pantaleon, who, immediately after the execution of Gerard, was convey'd from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a mourning coach and six horses, attended by several of his brother's retinue; and there, on the same scaffold, lost his head, with as much terror and dejection of spirit, as Gerard had done with courage and resolution. This mightily raised the opinion of the Protector's justice, as well as of his power.

And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very day of this execution, the Portugal ambassador was oblig'd to sign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately set out of town.

And here Dr. Welwood remarks, ‘ That whatever reason the house of Austria had to hate the memory of Cromwell, yet his causing the Portugal ambassador's brother to be executed, notwithstanding his plea of being a publick minister as well as his brother, was, near twenty years after Cromwell's death, brought as a precedent by the Emperor, to justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince of Furstenburgh at the treaty of Cologne, notwithstanding his being a plenipotentiary for the Elector of that name. And in the printed manifesto published by the Emperor on that occasion, this piece of Cromwell's justice is related at large.’

The Lord Protector knowing, that tho' he had obtain'd the government, it was not confirm'd to him by the people, resolv'd, in pursuance of the instrument of government, to summon a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 3d of September; and accordingly order'd writs to be issued out for the election of members to serve in parliament, after the manner laid down in the said instrument. It was his great care how

To manage this assembly, so that they might proceed according to his own desires ; but tho' he had a great influence upon the people, and a great awe upon the sheriffs and magistrates, and brought the trial of elections into a committe of his own council, before the opening of the parliament, yet it prov'd not for his purpose : as we shall see in the following chapter.



CHAP. IV.

His Second Parliament.

On the 3d day of September, tho' it happen'd to be Sunday, the Lord Protector, who reckon'd that his fortunate day, would have the parliament open'd : And so the members, after hearing a sermon at Westminster abbey, attended his Highness in the Painted Chamber ; where he made a speech to them, shewing the cause of their summons ; after which, they went to their house, and adjourn'd to the next day. The Protector then rode in state from Whitehall to Westminster abbey, some hundreds of gentlemen and officers going before uncover'd, and next before the coach, his pages and lacqueys richly cloath'd : On

the

the one side of his coach, went Strickland, one of his council, and captain of his guards, with the master of the ceremonies, both on foot; and on the other side, walk'd colonel Howard (afterwards Earl of Carlisle) another captain of the guards. His son Henry and Lambert sat with him in the coach, bare headed. After the coach came Clay pole, master of the horse, with a gallant led horse, adorn'd with the richest trappings; and next after him the commissioners of the great seal, and of the treasury, and divers of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards.

Being come to the abbey door, his Highness alighted; and the officers of the army and the gentlemen went first, next them four maces, then the commissioners of the seal, Whitelock carrying the purse, and Lambert the sword before him. His Highness was seated over-against the pulpit, and the members of parliament placed themselves on both sides of him. After the sermon which was preach'd by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his Highness went in the same equipage to the Painted Chamber, where being seated in a chair of state set upon steps, the members sitting upon benches round about, all bare, his Highness put off his hat, and made a long and subtle speech to them, which was in substance as follows:

He told them, ‘ the danger of the level-ling Principles, and of the Fifth monarchy opinions, of the form of godliness, and the great ju^gment that had been upon this nation by ten years civil war. That the two pretensions, liberty of the subject, and liberty of conscience (two as glorious things, and as much to be contended for, as any gift God hath given us) were brought in to patronize those evils. Nay, these abominations swelled to that height, that the ax was laid to the root of the ministry, as Babylonish and Antichristian: And as the extremity was great before, so that no man, tho' well approved, and having a good testimony, might preach, if not ordain'd; so now, on the other hand, they will have ordination put a nullity upon the calling.

I conceive in my very soul, said he, that many of the Fifth monarchy opinion have good meanings; and I hope this parliament will (as Jude says, reckoning up the abominable apostacies of the last time) pluck some out of the fire, and save others with fear; making those of peaceable spirits, the subjects of their encouragement, and saving others by that discipline that God hath ordain'd to reform miscarriages: The danger of that spirit being not in the notion, but in its proceeding to a civil transgression; when men come into such a practice, as to tell

tell us, that liberty and property are not the bodies of that kingdom, and that instead of regulating laws, laws must be subverted; and perhaps the judicial law imposed, or some fancy instead of it (for that was good and honourable in the institution, tho' now by some misapply'd;) especially when every stone is turn'd to bring in confusion; this will be a consideration worthy of the magistrate.

Whilst these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn from one end to the other; family against family, parent against child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men, but Overturn, Overturn, (a scripture very much abus'd and challeng'd by all men of discontented spirits;) that common enemy in the mean time sleeps not; swarms of Jesuits come over, and have their consistories abroad, to rule all the affairs of England, and the dependencies thereof: In the mean time visible endeavours were us'd to hinder the work in Ireland, to obstruct the work in Scotland; correspondencies and intelligences were held to encourage the war in those places.

And withal, we were deeply engag'd in a war with Portugal, whereby our trade ceas'd; and not only so, but a war with Holland, which consum'd our treasure, as much as the afflictment came to. At the
same

same time we fell into a war with France; or rather we were in it; and all this fo-
mented by the divisions amongst us, which begat a confidence, we could not hold out long; and the calculation had not been ill, if the Lord had not been gracious to us. Be-
sides, strangers increased in the manufac-
ture, the great staple commodity of this nation.

In such an heap of confusion was this poor nation; and that it might not sink into a confusion from the premises, a remedy must be applied: A remedy hath been ap-
plied, This government. A thing that is seen and read of all, and which (let men say what they will, I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my in-
tention; and let men judge out of the thing itself) is calculated for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest.

I may, with humbleness towards God, and modesty before you, say something in the behalf of it.

It hath endeavour'd to reform the laws, and for that end hath join'd persons (with-
out reflection upon any) of as great integrity and ability as any other, to consider how the laws might be made plain, short and easy; which may in due time be tendered.

It hath taken care to put into seats of justice, men of the most known integrity and ability.

The Chancery hath been reform'd, and I hope to the just satisfaction of all good men:

It hath put a stop to that heady way, for every man that will, to make himself a preacher, having endeavour'd to settle a way for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work, and the business committed to persons both of the Presbyterian and independent judgments, men of as known ability and integrity, as (I suppose) any the nation hath, and who (I believe) have labour'd to approve themselves to God and their own consciences, in approving men to that great function.

It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work, who have been the common scorn and reproach to that administration.

One Thing more: It hath been instrumental to call a free parliament; blessed be God, we see here this day a free parliament, and that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart of every good man of England: For my own part, as I desir'd it above my life, so to keep it free, I shall value it above my life;

A peace

A peace is made with Sweden, wherein an honourable person [meaning Whitelock] was instrumental) it being of much importance to have a good understanding with our Protestant neighbours.

A peace is also made with the Danes, and a peace there that is honourable, and to the satisfaction of the merchants.

The Sound is open to us from whence, as from a fountain, our naval provisions are supplied.

A peace is made with the Dutch, which is so well known in the consequences of it; and the great advantages of a good understanding with Protestant states.

I beg it may be in your hearts to be zealous of the Protestant interest abroad, which if ever it be like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now; many being banish'd, and drived to seek refuge among strangers.

A peace is made with Portugal, (tho' it hung long) of great concernment to trade; and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their consciences, without being subjected to the bloody Inquisition.

A treaty with France is likewise now depending.

It may be necessary, in the next place, for you to hear a little of the sea affairs, and to take notice of the great expence of the forces

forces and fleet; and yet 30000 l. is now abated of the next three months assessment.

These things, which I have before mentioned, are but entrances, and doors of hope; you are brought to the edge of Canaan (into which many that have gone before could not enter) but if the blessing and presence of God go along with you in the management of your affairs, I make no question but he will enable you to lay the top stone of this work.

But this is a maxim not to be despised,
Tho' peace be made, yet it is interest that
keeps peace, and farther than that, peace
is not to be trusted.

The great end of calling this parliament,
is that the work of God may go on, that
the ship of this Common-wealth may be
brought into a safe Harbour.

I shall put you in mind, that you have a great work upon you; Ireland to look to, that the beginning of that government may be settled in honour.

That you have before you, the consideration of those foreign states, with whom peace is not made; who, if they see we manage not our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will retain hopes, that we may still, under the disadvantages thereof, break into confusion.

No. 52. F f f I shall

I shall conclude with my persuasion to you, to have a sweet gracious, and holy understanding one of another, and put you in mind of the counsel you heard this day in order thereunto.

And I desire you to believe, that I speak not to you, as one that would be Lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow servant with you to the interest of this great affair.'

Being come to the parliament house, they almost unanimously made choice of the old speaker Mr. William Lenthal, master of the Rolls, to be their speaker. This done, they presently took the Protector's instrument of Government into consideration; and the first debate they fell upon, was, Whether the supreme legislative power of the nation should be in a single person, and a parliament. And here many warm speeches were made in direct opposition to a single person; and one said, That they could not but discern the snares laid to entrap the people's privileges; and for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could be measur'd out no other way than by the length of his sword, which was only that which emboldened him

to command his commanders.' These debates continued for seven or eight days together, to the great grief of the Protectorians, who to save themselves were necessitated to find means for protracting time, and adjourning the house, when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly saw it would be carry'd in the negative.

His Highness being inform'd of these proceedings, and fearing to have that great question put, lest he should be depos'd by a vote of this assembly, on the 12th of September early in the morning, caused a guard to be placed at the door of the house, and sent to the Lord Mayor to acquaint him with the reasons of what he was about to do, that he might prevent any disorder in the city. The members coming at the usual hour, were deny'd entrance, and commanded to attend the Lord Protector in the Painted Chamber; where he spoke to them as follows :

He told them, that when he met them a few days since, and deliver'd his mind unto them, he did it with much more hopes and comfort than now; and that he was very sorry to find them falling into heats and divisions. He represented to them the miscarriages of the long parliament, and declar'd, That he had often press'd that assembly, as a member, to put a period to themselves,

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telling them, That the nation loath'd their sitting; and when they were dissolved, there was no visible repining at it, no not so much as the barking of a dog. He shewed them, by what means he came to the government, together with the consent that the people had many ways given thereunto; and said, that the other day when he told them they were a free parliament, he did also consider, there was a Reciprocation: For that the same government, which made them a parliament, made him Protector; and as they were entrusted with somethings, so he was with others. That there were some things in the government fundamental, which could not be altered; as, 1. That the government should be in one person and a parliament. 2. That parliaments should not be made perpetual; which would deprive the people of their successive elections: Nor that the parliament should be always sitting, that is, as soon as one parliament is up, another should come, and sit in their places the very next day; which could not be, without subjecting the nation to an arbitrary power in governing, because parliaments, when they sit, are absolute, and unlimited. The third fundamental was in the matter of the militia: For in order to prevent the two aforemention'd inconveniences, the militia was not to be entrusted in any one hand

hand or power, but to be so disposed, that as the parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, to prevent excesses in him; so on the other hand, the Protector might have a check upon the parliament, to prevent excesses in them; because if the militia were wholly in the parliament, they might, when they would, perpetuate themselves; But now the militia being disposed as it is, the one stands as a counterpoize to the other; which renders the balance of government the more even, and the government itself the more firm and stable.

The fourth fundamental in the government, was about a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion; wherein bounds and limits ought to be set, so as to prevent persecution. That the rest of the things in the government were examinable, and alterable, as the occasion and state of things should require. That as for a negative voice, he claimed it not, save only in the aforesaid particulars. That in all other things he had only a deliberative power; and if he did not pass such laws as were presented to him, within twenty days after their presentment, they were to be laws without his consent, Therefore, things being thus, he was sorry to understand that any of them should go about to overthrow what was so settled,

settled, contrary to their trust received from the people; which could not but bring on very great inconveniences: To prevent which, he was necessitated to appoint a test, or recognition, of the government, which was to be sign'd by them, before they went any more into the house.

The said test or recognition was in these words: I A. B. do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenour of the indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament) propose, or give any consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament.

This being ingross'd in parchment, was laid on a table near the door of the house, for the members to subscribe before they should be qualify'd to sit. Accordingly, within a day or two, it was signed by about a hundred and thirty of them, and some days after by as many more, who thereupon took their places in the house. 'Tis said, that those, who refus'd to subscribe this engagement, were not only excluded, but some of them taken into custody. Major-general Harrison, the Protector's late great favourite, was now secur'd by a party

of

of horse, by his Highness's order; and col. Rich, Mr. Carew and others, being summoned before the council, were requir'd to surrender their commissions; and because they refus'd to engage not to act against the Lord Protector and his government, they were committed to prison.

A debate arising in the house concerning the Recognition, it was thereupon declar'd, ' That it should not be intended to comprehend the whole, contained in the forty two articles of the instrument of government, but only that which requir'd the government of the common wealth to be by a single person, and successive parliaments.' The great point concerning the single person being over-rul'd, the house apply'd themselves to the consideration and debate of the remaining clauses of the instrument of government. They declar'd, ' That Oliver Cromwell should be Protector during life; and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with provision for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ships, that they thought necessary for the guard of the seas; and order'd two hundred thousand pounds a year for the Protector's own expence, the salaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambassadors; and that White-hall,

hall, St. James's, the Mews, Somerset-house, Greenwich, Hampton-Court, Windsor, and the manour of York, be kept unsold for the Protector's use. They also voted a clause to be inserted, to declare the rights of the people of England, and particularly, that no money should be raised upou the nation, but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the instrument of government it was provided, that if the parliament were not sitting at the death of the present Protector, the council should chuse a successor; they resolv'd, that nothing should be determin'd by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to consider what they would have done. They also approv'd and confirmed the present Lord Deputy of Ireland, the present Lords Commissioners of the great seal of England, the commissioners of the treasury, and the two chief justices. Among other things, they debated the point of liberty of conscience upon the new government, and agreed to allow it to all, who shall not maintain atheism, Popery, Prelacy, Profaneness, or any damnable Heresies, to be enumerated by the parliament.

This highly pleas'd some men; and it is observable, that during these debates, the ministers were so forward and zealous, that they propos'd several fundamentals in religion

OLIVER CROMWELL. 427

gion (viz. their own believ'd opinions) to the parliament to be established by them. These debates upon the government continued for some months, in which time also the house took a transient view of the Protector's own ordinances; particularly, one for paying the money into the treasury, rais'd for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales. Another to make soldiers free from corporations: Another to remove all scandalous preachers and ministers; and a fourth for the surveying of King's and Churches lands. And having gone through the instrument of government, they pass'd this additional vote, "That no one clause, of what they had agreed upon, should be look'd upon as binding, unless the whole were consented to its adoption."

During these debates in parliament, an odd accident happen'd to the Protector, which very much endanger'd his life. He having taken upon himself the whole government of the nation, and sent ambassadors, and agents to foreign kingdoms and states, was again very much courted by them, and presented with the rarities of several countries; and the Duke of Holstein among the rest made him a present of a gallant set of grey Friesland coach-horses. With these he had a mind to take the air in the Park, attended only with his secretary

Thurloe and his guards. Being come into the Park, he would needs take the place of the coach-man; and so mounting the box, he began to lash and drive them on very furiously: But the horses not us'd to such rough management, ran away with full speed, and never stopp'd, till their driver was thrown with great violence out of the box; with which fall his pistol fir'd in his pocket, though he had the good fortune to receive no hurt.

In the debates upon the government, many things were said, which gave great offence to the Protector and his council, and made it plainly appear, that the parliament were not inclinable to answer their whole desire and expectation, and fall in with all they design'd: Hereupon he grew very uneasy, till the five months allow'd for their sitting, by his own instrument of government, should be expir'd. And though the form of government, which they had agreed to, differ'd not in any material point, from that which himself had set up, unless it were in reserving the nomination of his successor to the parliament; yet this one thing was thought very disagreeable to him, and some of his council

However, the dissolution of this assembly was, after much debate in council, resolv'd on, and so the five months of their session, according

according to the soldiers account of twenty-eight days to the month, were no sooner ended, but the members on the 22d of January were required to attend him in the Painted chamber, where he then dissolved them with this most tedious and intricate speech.

‘ Gentlemen, I perceive you are here as the house of parliament, by your speaker, whom I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a great measure, known to me.

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with myself) the hopes and the happiness of (tho' not of the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the world; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a people that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory (to wit) religion; as a people that have been like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down, in our honour in the world, and yet never so low, but we might measure with other nations; and a people that have had a stamp upon them from God, God having (as it were) summed all our former glory and honour, in the things that are of glory to nations,

in an Epitome, within these ten or twelve years last past; so that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And (if I be not very much mistaken) we were arriv'd (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others did think) at a very safe port where we might sit down, and contemplate the dispensations of God, and our mercies not to have been like to those of the ancients, who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, that all ours were let down to us from God himself, whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be out match'd in any story whatever.

Truly this was our condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded, in that most excellent Psalm of David, Psalm lxxviii, ver. 4, 5, 6, 7. The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works which he hath done; for he establish'd a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, even the chil-

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dren that should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments.

This, I thought, had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had hearts unto it.

You had this opportunity fairly deliver'd unto you; and if a history shall be written of these times, and of transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied) but that these things I have spoken are true.

This Talent was put into your hands, and I shall recur to that which I said at first: I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this place; but we and these nations are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had purpos'd to have play'd the orator, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one of you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here, and I confess at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, tho' not a total frustration. I confess, that that which dampt my hopes so soon, was somewhat that did look like a parricide.

parricide. It is obvious enough unto you, that the management of affairs did favour of a not-owning the authority that called you hither; but God left us not without an expedient, that gave a second possibility. Shall I say a possibility? It seemed to me a probability of recovering out of that dissatisfaction'd condition, we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction; and therefore by that recognition suiting with the indenture that return'd you hither, to which afterwards also was added your own declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of that expedient; whereby you had (tho' with a little check) another opportunity renew'd unto you, to have made this nation as happy, as it could have been, if every thing had smoothly run on from the first hour of your meeting.

And indeed (you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged as a soldier, that some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first have made way for very great and happy successes.

And I did not at all despond, but the stop put upon you, would in like manner have made way for a blessing from God, that that Interruption being, as I thought necessary to divert you from destructive and violent

lent proceedings, to give time for better deliberations; whereby leaving the government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have madethose good and wholesome laws which the people expected from you; and might have answered the grievances and settled those other things proper to you as a parliament, and for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you.

What hath happen'd since that time, I have not taken publick notice of, as declining to intrench upon parliament privileges; for sure I am, you will all bear me witness that from your entering into the house upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine, in proceeding to that blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself, to this very day.

You see you have me very much lock'd up, as to what you transacted among yourselves from that time to this; but something I shall take liberty to speak of to you. As I may not take notice what you have been doing, so I think I have very great liberty to tell you that I do not know what you have been doing; I do not know whether you have been alive or dead: I have not once heard from you in all this time; I have not, and that you all know: If that be a

fault

fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine.

If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them, why might it not haye been very lawful to me to think that I was a person judg'd unconcern'd in all these businesses? I can assure you, I have not reckon'd myself, nor did I reckon myself unconcern'd in you; and so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you, the issues of your consultations and resolution; I haye been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.

But what messages have I distur'd you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done or offer'd, either to your persons, or to any privileges of parliament, since you sat? I look at myself as strictly oblig'd by my oath, since your recognizing the government, in the authority of which you were called hither, and sat, to give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption.

Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this.

I say,

I say, I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting, caring for your Privileges (as I said before) that they might not be interrupted ; have been seeking of God, from the great God, a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations ; I have been consulting, if possibly I might in any thing promote, in my place, the real good of this parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you.

There is another Necessity which you have put upon us, and we have not sought ; I appeal to God, angels, and men, if I shall raise money according to the article in the government, which had power to call you hither, and did, and instead of seasonable providing for the army, you have laboured to overthrow the government, and the army is now upon free quarter, and you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it ; where is the fault ? Has it not been as if you had had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the nation ? I hope this was not in your minds, I am not unwilling to judge so ; but this is the state unto which we are reduc'd : By the designs of some in the army, who are now in custody, it was design'd to get as many of 'em as they could, for want of money, the army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon

other specious pretences: to march for England out of Scotland, and in discontent to seize their general there, a faithful and honest man, that so another might head the army; and all this opportunity taken from your delays; whether will this be a thing of feigned necessity? What could it signify but that the army are in discontent already, and we'll make them cast off their governors and discipline? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the faults upon others backs; whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending liberty, and a many good words, whether it hath been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has, the nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men, or the Lincolnshire-men may think, or other countries, but I believe they will all think they are not safe. A temporary suspension of caring for the greatest liberties and privileges (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of that damage, that the not providing against free quarter hath run the nation upon. And if it be my liberty to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire.

I have

I have troubled you with a long speech, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some; but because this is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think myself bound in my duty to God, and the people of these nations, to their safety and good in every respect; I think it my duty to tell you, that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and publick good, for you to continue here any longer; and therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this parliament.

C H A P. V.

From the disolution of his second Parliament to the meeting of his third Parliament.

THUS the Protector in great displeasure, and in this upbraiding manner, parted with his second parliament; which as it increas'd the indignation of the Republicans, so it gave great encouragement to the Royalists, to go on with the designs they had now on foot; so that both parties, for King and Common-wealth, were in

rage, and plots, and arms against him, tho' by Oliver's good policy and extraordinary intelligence, their designs were crush'd before they could bring them to any maturity. Major John Wildman, a noted commonwealth's man, whom the Protector had expell'd the house at the first opening of the session, was seiz'd with a paper dictated by him, intituled, *The declaration of the free and well-affected people of Eng'and, now in arms against the tyrant Oliyer Cromwell, Esq;* and beginning thus: ' Being satisfy'd in our judgment and consciencies of the present necessity to take up arms for the defence of our native rights and freedoms, which are wholly invaded and swallowed up in the pride and ambition of Oliver Cromwell, who calls himself Lord Protector of England, who hath render'd all Englishmen no better than his vassals, &c.' But this man, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, who thought of nothing but his d.ath, was after a short imprisonment discharged and set at full liberty.

The Protector at the same time us'd all imaginable arts to secure himself, and prevent a universal odium: He pay'd the fleet and army well, and discharged all officers whose side & party he suspected; carried it very fair with the city of London, giving them the power of their own militia, under their
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old leader major-general Skippon, treating them, and accepting of treats from them; eas'd the common people of some customary burdens, and some part of their taxes; and us'd an indefatigable diligence and unbounded expence in procuring intelligence, and early crushing all designs against him. So that though his mother (who dy'd this year, and was buried with extraordinary pomp and solemnity) was in continual fear of her son's life, and when she heard any gun go off, would cry out that her son was shot, and could not be easy without seeing him safe once or twice a day; and though a thousand of his enemies did really believe that killing him would be no murder, yet he had the good fortune to escape all dangers.

The Cavalier plot was still on foot, which the Protector had a jealousy was countenanc'd by the parliament; and he gave out that to be a cause of his dissolving them. The project was, to have several parties rise together in several parts of the nation, about the beginning of March; and though upon the private intelligence the Protector had receiv'd, several persons were apprehended, and many arms seiz'd, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end, a cart-load of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where

'twas reported the conspirators were to be headed by Wilmot Earl of Rochester. But being somewhat alarm'd at their first meeting, and apprehensive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were sufficiently prepar'd, they dispers'd themselves, leaving their arms behind them. The design was not so soon over in the west, where Sir Joseph Wagstaff, colonel Penruddock, captain Hugh Grove, Mr Jones, and other persons of condition, enter'd Salisbury with a body of two hundred horse well arm'd, expecting there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the assizes, and they came thither about five o'clock in the morning ; where, having proclaim'd the King, they seiz'd the judges, Rolls and Nicolas, and took away their commissions. They also seiz'd the sheriff ; one Wagstaff was for hanging all three of them ; but others not agreeing to it, they were at last set at liberty.

Their forces not at all answering their first expectations, they retired to Dog-town, and from thence marched as far as Blanford in Dorsetshire, where most men look'd upon them as flying, several of their own party stealing from them as fast as others came to them ; and thoſe who continued with them did ſo rather to ſecure themselves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation

tion of success in their undertaking. Captain Unto Crook, having intelligence of their motions, pursu'd them into Devonshire, and at South-Molton fell upon them and totally defeated them: Most of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them Penruddock, Grove, and Jones; Wagstaff, Mason, and Mompesson narrowly escaping. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter, and others were hanged in that city; some of them were sent to Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumph'd, and there try'd and executed; and many were transported to the West-Indies. Thus these insurrections, which at first seem'd to threaten the whole kingdom, expired for the present, and the Protector was secured without the help of his army.

This plot, which was laid to ruin the Protector, proved in the issue of great advantage to him, advanced his credit, and served to confirm his authority the more. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himself for an excuse and pretence to continue such numerous forces in pay; and that little success the King's party met with, was judg'd a good proof that there was not yet sufficient force for the safety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occasion, with the advice of his council, to make an order, ' That all who had borne arms for the King, or had declared

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declared themselves to be of his party,
should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of
their estates, to support the charge of such
extraordinary forces, as their turbulent and
seditious practices obliged him to keep up ;
the Protector declaring, That the charge
should be laid upon those who had occa-
sion'd it, and not upon the honest party,
who had already been so much sufferers.
Commissioners were appointed in every
county for this purpose ; and by this means
incredible sums of money were brought into
the Protector's coffers. He likewise com-
mitted to prison many of those whom he
fe suspected, as the Earl of Oxford, the
Lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport,
and Compton ; Littleton, Peyton, Pack-
ington, Ashburnham, Russell, Legg, Phi-
lips, Halsey, and several others. He had
also a very watchful eye over the Republi-
cans, and Fifth-monarchy men, and gave
Monk orders to seize major general Over-
ton, major Bramstone, Holms, and other
officers.

Overton was sent up to London and com-
mitted to the Tower, and his regiment gi-
ven to colonel Morgan, colonel Okey's to
the lord Howard, and cornet Joyce, now
colonel, was likewise cashier'd. And final-
ly, to provide for all inconveniences, as
well amongst the people as in the army, he
divided

divided England, as 'twere, into so many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of major general; which major generals were in the nature of perfects or governors of provinces. These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all moheys which were ordered by his Highness and his council to be collected for the publick, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execntion such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the Protector himself. Their names and several divisions were as follow: Colonel Kelsey was major general for Kent and Surry; colonel Goffe for Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire; colonel Desborough for Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; lieutenant general Fleetwood for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Cambridge-shire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; major general Skippon for the city of London; commissary general Whaley for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire; major Butler for Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Rutland, and Huntingtonshire; colonel Berry

or Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and North Wales; colonel Whortley for Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire; major general Lambert for Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland; and colonel Barkstead for the city of Westminster, and Middlesex.

These major generals carry'd things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleas'd, interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of those who thought themselves aggrieved, and threatening such as would not readily submit to their orders with transportation to the West-Indies.

A certrin farmer in Berkshire, being required to pay his tenth, asked the commissioners, in case he did so, What security he should have for the other nine parts; and it being answer'd, That he should have the Protector's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the rest; he reply'd, That he had already an act of Parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good security as they could give: But, said he, if Goodman such-a-one and such-a-one (naming two of his neighbours) will give me their bond for it, I know what to lay to such a proposal; for if they break their agreement, I know where to right myself; but these sword-men are too strong for me.

About this time also, the Protector having laid some extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, who had formerly serv'd him in bringing about his designs, positively refused to pay his share, and vehemently dissuaded others from complying with it: Hereupon the Protector sent for him, and put him in mind of the old friendship that had been between them, telling him, That of all men he not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth. Cony in return remembered him, how great an enemy he had express'd himself to such grievances, and how he had declare^d, That all who submitted to pay illegal taxes, were greater enemies to their country than they who imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people. When the Protector saw he could not bring him over, he told him, That he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master; and thereupon committed him to prison. As soon as the term came on, the prisoner brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, Twisden, and Windham being of counsel for him, demanded his liberty, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and of the impulsion.

The judges could not defend either, and it appear'd plainly what their sentence would be; so that the Protector's attorney requir'd a farther day to answer what had been urg'd. But before that time, the three who were his counsel were committed to the Tower; and the judges were sent for and severely reprimanded, for suffering the liberty they had taken: And when they humbly alledg'd the law and Magna Charta, the Protector told them, Their Magna F--a should not controul his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth; and ask'd them, Who made them judges? And whether they had any authority to set there but what he gave them; and therefore he advised them to be more tender of that which only could preserve them, and sent them away with this caution, That they should not suffer the lawyers to prate, what it would not become them to hear.

At another time, Sir Peter Wentworth, a member of the long parliament, caus'd a collector in the country to be prosecuted at his suit, though he could scarce procure any attorney to appear, or counsel to plead for him.

The Protector being informed of this prosecution, sent a messenger to bring Sir Peter before the council; where being ask'd the reason of this proceeding, he told them,

That

That he was mov'd to it by his constant principle; That by the law of England no money ought to be levy'd upon the people, without their consent in parliament. The Protector then asked him, Whether he would withdraw his action or no; to which he replied, If you will command me, I must submit: Cromwell therefore commanding it, he accordingly withdrew his action; so this matter ended.

But though the Protector proceeded in this arbitrary manner against those who contested his authority; yet in all other cases, where the life of his jurisdiction was not concern'd, he seem'd to have a great reverence for the law, and the constitution, rarely interposing between party and party; and to do him justice, there appear'd in his government many things that were truly great and praise-worthy.

About this time, a design was form'd by the Protector, of settling the Jews again in this nation; and Manasseh Ben Israel, a great Rabbi, came over and made his stated proposals, and had a conference upon them, for re admitting that people to exercise trade and worship in England. The Protector on this occasion, sent for divers ministers of the gospel, and laid those proposals before them; and at the same time with great earnestness declar'd his opinion,

‘ That

• That since there was a promise that they should be converted, means ought to be us'd to that end ; and the most likely way was, the preaching of the gospel in truth and sincerity, as it was then in England, devoid of all popish idolatry. which had render'd the christian religion odious to them.' But the design was so violently opposed that this treaty came to nothing. 'Tis said the Protector had the promise of 200000l. from the Jews, in case he procured this toleration for them ; which made him so earnest to bring it about. But Bishop Burnet informs us, that he enter'd into this treaty with them for the sake of intelligence. His words are these : ' When he understood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low interest in proportion to the risque they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and selling of the actions of money for advanc'd, he, more upon that account, than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to England, and gave them leave to build a synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were sure and good spies for him, especially with relation to Spain and Portugal.'

Upon

Upon which the bishop tells this story, which he had from the Lord Broghill, then Earl of Orrery: That as that Earl was once walking with Cromwell in one of the galleries of Whitehall, a man almost in rags appear'd in view; upon which he immediately dismiss'd the earl, and took that person with him into his closet; who told him of a great sum of money, that the Spaniards were sending over in a Dutch man of war, to pay their army in Flanders; and also wherabouts in the ship the said money was reposit'd.

The Protector then immediately sent an express to Smith (afterwards Sir Jeremy Smith) who lay in the Downs, informing him, 'That within a day or two such a Dutch ship would pass the Channel, which he must search for the Spanish money, which was contraband goods; his Highness being then at war with Spain.' Accordingly, when the ship pass'd by Dover, Smith sent and demanded leave to search him. The Dutch captain return'd him this answer, That none but his masters might search him. Upon which, Smith sent him word again, That he had set up an hour-glass, and if he did not submit to the search before it was run out, he would force him. The captain seeing it was in vain to struggle, submitted in time, and so all the money was

was found. And the next time his Highness saw the Lord Orrery, he told him, he had his intelligence from that seemingly forlorn man he saw him go to some days before.

The Protector's greatest difficulty in his foreign affairs, was, which side to chuse, France or Spain. The latter offer'd, that if his Highness would join with them, they would engage themselves to make no peace, till he should recover Calais again to the English.

The Protector was very well pleased with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to restore that town again to the English empire, after it had been a hundred years possess'd by the French: Cardinal Mazarine having intell'gence of this offer made by the Spaniards, that he might outbid them, promis'd, in case the Protector would join with France, to assist him in taking of Dunkirk, a place of much more importance. His Highness was still for sometime in suspence, but that which inclin'd him very much to join with France, was this; he saw that if France should assist the King or his brother with an army of Hugonots, to make a descent into England, which was threaten'd if he join'd with Spain, this might be of very dangerous consequence to him who had so many enemies at home,

and

and so few friends; whereas the Spaniards could give those Princes no strength, nor had they any protestant subjects to assist 'em in such an enterprize. This consideration made a great impression him; and whilst he was casting in his mind, what was fit to be done, one Gage, formerly a priest, came over from the West Indies, and gave him such a relation of the weakness, as well as of the riches of the Spaniards in thole parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and easy conquest, to seize on their dominions there. By this he hop'd to supply himself with such a treasure, that his government would be established, before he should need to have any recourse to a parliament for money. And as the Spaniards woald never admit of a peace with England between the tropicks, he was in a state of war with them as to those parts, even before he declared war against them in Europe.

Upon this, he prepared a fleet, with a force sufficient, as he thought, to have seiz'd Hispaniola and Cuba; Gage having assur'd him, that success in that expedition would soon make him master of all the rest. When the time of setting out this fleet came on, all men wonder'd whither it should be design'd. Some imagin'd it was to rob the church of Loreto; and this apprehension occasioned

a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of Rome itself; for the Protector's preachers often gave out, That if it were not for the divisions at home, he would go and sack Babylon.

Others thought the design was against Cadiz, tho' he had not yet broke with Spain.

The French knew nothing of the secret; and the Protector not having finish'd his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reason of his preparations. All he said about it was this, That he sent out the fleet to guard the seas, and to restore England to its dominion on that element:

The fleet consisting of about thirtym of war, under the command of vice-adm'ren Penn, with about four thousand land-soldiers, to be commanded by Venables, set sail in the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were order'd to break open their commissions.

Being safely arrived there, and new men taken in to encrease the land army, they sailed to the island of Hispaniola.

Coming about the middle of April before Sancto Domingo, the chief port of that country, Venables landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the Lord Protector, and marc'd

them

them thro' such thick woods and uneasy passages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal number, beat them back. After this they advanc'd again towards the town, taking Negroes for their guides, who led them into an ambuscade ; so that they were again shamefully repuls'd to the bay where they landed, with the loss of major general Haines, and above 600 men.

They were soon forced to reimbarke ; and then, to make some ameods for this unhappy miscarriage, they made another descent on the island of Jamaica, and obtain'd an easy posession of it ; which island has ever since remained in the hands of the English : Where leaving o good body of foot to secure it, they sail'd back to England :

The Lord Protector was never so much disturbed as at this disaster at Hispaniola ; so that Penn and Venables were no sooner come on shore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevail'd on to trust either of them again.

About the time that Penn and Venables set out on this unfortunate expedition, admiral Blake sailed with another fleet into the Mediterranean, to scour those seas of the Turkish pirates ; and not meeting with any of, he bravely resolved to seek them out in their port.

He came first before Algiers, and sending to the Dey, demanded that all the English ships might be restored, and all the English slaves released.

The Dey hereupon sent a rich present to Blake, with some store of fresh provisions, and gave him to understand, ' That the ships and captives already taken belonged to private men, therefore not so much in his power; but yet they should be restored at a moderate ransom; and if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the English ships and natives.'

A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake sailed from thence to Tunis, where, having made the same demand as at Algiers, instead of the like submission, he receiv'd this resolute answer; ' That there were their castles of Goletta, and their ships and castles of Porto-Ferino; he might do his worst, for he should not think to fright them with the fight of his fleet.'

Provok'd at this answer, Blake resolved to destroy their ships in Porto-Ferino.

Accordingly they mann'd their long-boats with stout seamen, and sent them into the harbour to fire those ships, whilst the admiral himself, with all his fleet, thunder'd most furiously with his cannon against their castles.

The seamen, in the mean time, so bravely perform'd their parts, that all the nine Turkish ships of war were soon redued to ashes, with the loss of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the English side. These were actions of the highest condnet and courage, which made the English name very formidable in those seas.

There was another reason of Blake's sailing into the Mediterranean, which was, to demand satisfaction of all princes and states, that had molested the English in the time of war and confusion at home.

Accordingly, among other places, he sail'd to Leghorn, and dispatch'd his secretary to demand of the great duke of Tuscany 60000l. for damages sustain'd by the English in his dutchy; Prince Rupert having taken and sold as many English ships, as amounted to that value, to the Great Duke's subjects. The said duke was willing to pay part of the sum, and desired time to consult the Pope about the rest.

Blake said the Pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole sum, which was paid him, 35000 Spanish, and 25000 Italian pistoles.

The Duke pretended that the Pope ought to pay part of the damage, some of the ships having been sold to his subjects; accordingly the next succeeding Pope repaid the

the Great Duke 20030 pistoles. Admiral Blake sent home sixteen ships laden with the effects he had received from several states for satisfaction and damages, and they were ordered to sail up the Thames together, for a pleasing spectacle to the people.

The king of Spain, provoked at the late attempt upon his dominions in the West-Indies, declar'd war against England; and the Protector, on the other hand, dispatc'd orders to admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spanish plate-fleet, and make what destruction he could upon the coasts of Spain; and thought fit now to finish his alliance with France, sending Lockhart his ambassador thither for that end.

His Highness undertook to send over an army of 6000 foot; and when the forts in Dunkirk and Mardyke should be taken, they were to be put into his hands: and the French to permit King Charles, nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the Queen-mother, to remain in any part of his dominions.

About this time, the Protector had two signal occasions given him, to exercise his charity, and display his power, and shew his zeal in protecting the protestants abroad.

The duke of Savoy rais'd a new persecution of the Vaudois, cruelly murdering and maslaering any of them, and driving the rest from their dwellings into the mountains.

Upon this the Protector sent to Mazarine, desiring him to put a stop to these proceedings; adding, That he knew well they had the Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleas'd; and if they did not, he must presently break with them.

The Cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: He promised to do good offices; but said, he could not answer for the effects.

Howver, nothing would satisfy the Protector, till they oblig'd the Duke of Savoy to restore all he had unjustly taken from his protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpose also he wrote to the Duke of Savoy himself, tho' he had otherwise no concern with him. But the title of Roy. I Highnes being by mistake omitted on the letter, the major part of the council of Savoy was for returning it back unopen'd; but the marquess de Pianezza representing to them, that Cromwell was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not pass by such an affront, that he would certainly lay Villa Franca in

in ashes, and set the Swiss protestant Cantons upon Savoy; the letter was read: which, together with the Cardinal's influence, had the desir'd success.

The Lord Protector also rais'd a great sum of money for the Vaudois, and sent over Moreland to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses.

The other instance was this: There happened a tumult at Nismes, in which the Hugonets had committed some disorder; who being apprehensive of very severe proceedings upou it, sent one over with great secrecy and expedition to the lord protector Cromwell, to desire his interposition and assistance and protection. This express found so good a reception the first hour he came, that his Highness having receiv'd the whole account, bid him, ' Refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris, he should find it dispatch'd.' Accordingly, that night he dispatch'd an agent with a letter to the Cardinal, and one inclos'd for the King. The leteer to the Cardinal was in Latin, to which he added this postscript in French with his own hand; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitants de Nismes. Je recommande a votre empece les interets des reformez.*

I have

' I have heard of the tumult at Nismes : I recommend to your eminence the interests of the reformed.'

He also sent instructions to his ambassador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. The Cardinal complained of this way of proceeding ; but the necessity of their affairs made him comply. These things rais'd the Protector's character abroad, and caus'd him to be much depended on.

The lord Broghill, who was one of the Protector's cabinet counsellors, was sent for from Ireland to go to Scotland, and be president of the council there ; but he was soon weary of the place, tho' he had a salary of 2000l. per Annum. Upon his return to London, Oliver told him, There's a great friend of yours in town. Broghill asking who ? Cromwell said, The lord Ormond. He came to town such a day, and is at such a place, naming it.

Broghill said, he knew nothing of it : But the Protector bad him send Ormond word that he knew where he was.

The lord Broghill went himself, and told him what Cromwell had said ; upon which the marquess made haste away. But his lady's papers were seiz'd on, who entreated lord Broghill to intercede for her.

As soon as Cromwell saw him, he said with some passion, You have undertaken indeed for the quietness of a fine person! The lady Ormond is conspiring with her husband against me; and by your procurement I have allowed her 2000l. a year of the marquess's estate, because they are sufferers in Ireland. She's a wicked woman, and shall not have a farthing of it.

The lord Broghill seeing him angry, return'd a soft answer, which seldom failed to pacify him; and humbly desired to know what grounds he had for so severe a censure.

Grounds enough, reply'd the Protector, There, read it (giving him a letter) 'tis her own hand. Lord Broghill looking upon it, said, It was not lady Ormond's hand, but the lady Isabella Thynn's, between whom and the marquess there had been an iutrigue. How will you prove it? said Comwell. Easily, reply'd the other, for I have some letters of that lady's by me; which being shewn to the protector, he was satisfy'd.

Having mention'd this instance of intelligence of lord Ormond's being in town, it may be proper enough to insert here what Bishop Burnet says of Cromwell's using Sir Richard Willis for a spy.

‘ Oliver, says he, understandod that one Sir Richard Willis chancellor Hyde's chief confident,

dent, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted.

So he found a way to talk with him : He said, He did not intend to hurt any of the party, his design was rather to save them from ruin : They were apt, after their cups, to run into foolish plots, which signify'd nothing but to ruin those who were engag'd in them : He knew they consulted him in every thing. All he desired of him was to know those plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might suffer for them. If he clapt any of them up in prison, it should be only for a little time, and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had engaged in.

He offer'd Willis whatever he would accept of, and to give it when, or as he pleas'd. They struck up a bargain, and none was trusted with but his secretary Thurloe, who was a very dextrous man at getting intelligence. Thus Cromwell had all the King's party in a net : And the Bishop tells us, he knew every thing that pass'd in the King's little court, and yet none of his spies was discover'd but Manning, who was shot to death in the territories of the Duke of Newburgh.

The Protector having concluded the treaty with France, resolved not on a vigorous

prosecution of the war with Spain.

For this purpose, admiral Blake, and Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, were ordered with a strong navy to block up the port of Cadiz.



C H A P. VI. I

From the meeting of his third Parliament, to his being confirmed Protector by the humble petition and advice.

ON the 17th day of September, the new parliament met his Highness the lord protector in Westminster-Abby; where Dr John Owen, vicechancellor of Oxford, preach'd a sermon on these words in Isaiah.

' What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.'

This being over, the Protector with the members went to the painted chamber, where he made a short speech to them, and then dismissed to their house: But here they found a guard placed, and none were suffer'd to enter but such as had certificates given them,

them, in this form, ‘ These are to certify, that A. B. is return’d in indenture one of the members to serve in this present parliament, for —— and approv’d by his Highness’s council.

By this means near a hundred members were excluded, who thereupon presented a petition to the sitting members, declaring, ‘ That being chosen by the country to serve with them, they were ready to discharge their duty ; but were prevented from doing so by the power of the sword, and refus’d admittance into the house by a guard of soldiers.’

Upon this, a committee being sent to the Protector and his council, return’d with this answer, ‘ That if the persons complaining would apply themselves to them, they should be reliev’d if there was cause.’ The excluded members therefore seeing no redress, appeal’d to the people in a severe remonstrance, complaining, ‘ That the lord protector had by force of arms invaded their fundamental right and liberty, and violently prevented the meeting of the people’s chosen deputies in parliament ; and concluding with an appeal to God and all the good people of England for assistance and protection in their service, &c.

The sitting members made choice of Sir Thomas Widdrington for their Speaker : and

and 'twas soon perceived that they were disposed to act according to the protector's mind.

Cromell having thus accepted of the government, 'twas thought fit he should have a solemn Inauguration; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of June, and the house ordered the master of the ceremonies to give notice thereof to all foreign ambassadors and ministers.

Westminster-hall was prepared for this solemnity, and adorned and beautify'd as sumptuously as it could be for a coronation. At the upper end there was an ascent raised, where a chair and canopy of state were set, and a table with another chair for the Speaker; and seats were likewise built up for the members of parliament, the judges officers, and for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London: all things being prepar'd, the lord protector came out of a room adjoining to the lords house (having come thither from Whitehall by water) and in this order proceeded into the hall. First went his gentlemen, then a herald; next the aldermen, another herald, and the attorney-general; then the judges; then Norroy king at arms, the Lords Commissioners of the seal, and of the treasury; then Garter king at arms, and after him the Earl of Warwick carrying the sword bare-headed before the

pro-

protector, and the lord mayor Tichburn, carrying the city sword: His Highness standing up under a cloth of state, the Speaker of the parliament made the following speech to him.

' May it please your Highness, You are now upon a great theatre, in a large choir of people: you have the parliament of Englaud, Scotland and Ireland before you: On your right hand, my Lords the jndges; and on your left hand, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, the most noble and populous city of England. The parliament with the interposition of your suffrage makes laws; and the judges and governours of London are the great dispensers of those laws to the people.'

The occasion of this convention and intercourse, is to give an investiture to your Highness in that eminent place of loed protector; a name which you had before, but it is now settled by the full unanimous consent of the people of these three nations assembled in parliament: You have no new name, but a new date added to the old name; the sixteenth of December is now changed to the twenty six of June.'

Then he said, he was commanded by the parliament to make oblation to his Highness of four things in order to his inauguration. -

At

At which, being assisted by the earl of Warwick, and Whitelock, he vested his Highness with a robe of purple velvet lin'd with ermines ; telling him, It was an emblem of magistracy, and imported righteousness and justice.

Then he presented him with a bible richly gilt and boss'd with gold, and told him, It was a book that contain'd the holy scriptures, in which he had the happiness to be well vrrs'd ; it was a book of books, and contained both precepts and examples for good government.

Next he put in his hand a scepter of massy gol'd, saying, Here is a scepter, not unlike a staff ; for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor.

Lastly, he girt him with a very rich sword, with this comment, This is not a military, but a civil sword ; it is a sword rather of defence, not only to defend your self, but also your people.

Then his Highness took an oath, to govern the people of these three nations according to law, &c. Which done, Mr. Manton pray'd, recommending his Highness, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and sea, and the whole government and people of the three nations to the blessing and protection of God.

Then the trumpets sounded, and an herald proclaimed his Highness's title, and all was concluded with the loud acclamations of the people, God save the lord protector.

The ceremonies being ended, his Highness with his train returned to Whitehall, and the members to their house, where there adjourn'd their sitting to the 29th of January next.

There was a fine medal struck on the occasion of the Protector's inauguration, performed by that excellent graver Simmonds; which had on one side the bust of Oliver, and round it, Oliver D. G. R. P. Ang. Sco. Hiberniae Protector. On the reverse was an olivetree flourishing in a field, with this round it, Non deficient Olivae, Sept. 3.
1657.

Ludlow tells us, that the next day after the solemnity of the inauguration, there was a feast prepar'd for the assembly and officers of the army; at which 'twas observ'd major general Lambert was not present; which occasion'd many to suspect he was declining in favour for obstructing Cromwell's design of being King; for he says he was credibly inform'd, that when that business was on foot, the major general took the liberty to tell Cromwell, That if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the

army to him. Or perhaps he was disgusted at the Protector's reserving to himself the naming of his successor in the government:

Some time after, upon the major general's refusing to take the oath, enjoined by the humble petition and advice, not to do any against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land; his Highness sent for him; and told him, he was well assur'd his refusal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember, that he himself did at the first press him to accept the title of King; and therefore if he was now dissatisfy'd with the present posture of affairs, he desired him to surrender his commission.

To this Lambert answer'd, That having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleas'd to send for it, he should deliver it; which two or three days after was accordingly done.

But the Protector not thinking it not safe to disgust him entirely, allow'd him a pension of 2000l. a year, to keep him from any desperate undertaking.

The Protector, now in the height of his grandeur and power, met with one very great misfortune, by the death of his valiant and victorious admiral Blake, after his

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having added one very signal exploit more this year to his other glories.

Having rode out all the winter storms before Cadiz and the coast of Portugal, he received certain intelligence, that another Spanish plate fleet, much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the English fleet had put into the bay of Sancta Cruz in the Isle of Teneriff, one of the Canaries,

Upon this, Blake with his fleet weigh'd anchor, April 13, and by the 20th stood off the Offing of the said bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arrived, to the number of sixteen men of war.

The bay was secured by a strong castle well furnished with great ordnance, besides seven forts more in several parts of it, mounted with six, four and three great guns a piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with musqueteers:

Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral caus'd all his smaller ships to moor close to the shore, covered by the castles and forts, and posted the six large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadsides to the sea. A Dutch merchantman was at this time in the bay, the master whereof perceiving the English were to enter, and that a combat would presently ensue, de-

sired don Diego's leave to depart. For, said he, I am very sure, Blake will presently be amongst us ; to which the don resolutely answered, Get yet yon gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.

Blake having called a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, resolv'd to burn them all : To which end, he first order'd the brave captain Stayner, in the speaker frigate, with a squadron to stand into the very bay ; who by eight the morning fell furiously upon the Spaniard, without the least regard to their forts, and fought them almost an hour. The admiral seconding him, posted some of the larger ships to cannonade the castle and forts ; which play'd their parts so well, that the enemy after some time was forced to leave them.

Blake for the space of fours engaged the galleons, which made a brave resistance, but were at last abandon'd by the enemy ; as were likewise the smaller vessels which lay under the forts, whi h were burnt by Stayner, whilst Blake did the same by the large galleons ; so that the whole plate fleet of inestimable value, was utterly destroy'd, and, which is very remarkable, as soon as ever the action was over, the wind, which before blew strong into the bay, on a sudden w^red about, and brought Blake with his fleet

fleet out to sea, without the loss of one ship, and with no more than forty eight men killed, and a hundred and twenty wounded.

The news of this brave and unparalleled action being brought to England before the end of the session, the parliament order'd a day of thanksgiving for this great success; and the Lord Protector at their desire, sent the admiral a diamond ring of 500 £ value, and knighted Stayner at his return to England.

BLAKE, after this noble exploit, sail'd back to Spain, where after having kept all their ships and ports in awe, he returned for England. But falling sick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, just as the fleet was entering into Plymouth sound, where he passionately enquired for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour.

He had a publick funeral solemnly and justly bestowed upon him, and the honour of being interred in Henry VIIth's chappel. The lord Clarendon says, 'He was the first man that declined the old track and made it manifest, that the (naval) science might be attain'd in less time than was imagin'd, and despised those rules which was long in practice, to keep his ships and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times

times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again.

He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them: He was the first that infus'd that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: And tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold resolute achievements.

He had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the English dominion of the seas. He endeavour'd to preserve peace and unity among his seamen, by telling 'em • That they should not listen to any news from land, nor mind the changes in the government, but remember that the fleet was English, and that their enemies were foreigners; and therefore they must fight for the honour of the English nation.'

One instance of his care to preserve the honour of his country, mentioned by Bishop Burnet

Burnet, I cannot omit. He says, that Blake happening to be at Malaga with the fleet, before Cromwell made war upon Spain, some of his seamen going ashore, met the host, as it was carrying about, and not only refus'd to pay any honour to it, but laugh'd at those who did.

Whereupon one of the priests flirr'd up the people to resent this affront, and so they fell upon them and beat them severely. The seamen returning to their ship, and complaining of the usage they had met with, Blake immediately dispatched a trumpeter to the Vice Roy, to demand the priest who had been the chief occasion of it. To which the Vice Roy returned this answer, That he had no authority over the priests, and so could not dispose of him. But Blake sent him word again, That he would not enquire who had power to send the priest to him, but if he were not within three hours, he would burn their town.

And so being unable to resist him, they sent the priest to him ; who justifying himself upon the rude behaviour of the seamen, Blake answered, That if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the establish'd religion of any place at which he touch'd ; but he took it ill, that he set on the Spaniardsto
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do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman. And so he civilly treated the priest, and dismiss'd him, being satisfy'd that he had him at his mercy.

The Bishop says, Cromwell was exceedingly pleas'd with this, and read the letters in council with great satisfaction, telling them, He hoped he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.

As victory crowned the Protector's arms by sea this year, so his forces by land were not unsuccessful. The 6000 men which his Highness was obliged by his treaty with France to provide, for acting jointly with the French against the Spaniards, being transported under the command of Sir John Reynolds and major general Morgan, the French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which when taken were to be put into Cromwell's hands, but marched to other places which they were to conquer for their own use.

But his Highness's ambassador Lockhart made such repeated representations to the Cardinal, complaing of their breach of faith not without some menaces, That his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as soon as they had marched into Flanders

ders invested Mardyke, which being taken would much facilitate the design upon Dunkirk. The French and English had not lain before this strong place above four days, when it was reduced to a surrender upon composition, and delivered up wholly into the possession of the English.

But soon after, the French being withdrawn into winter quarters, the Spaniards, who were sensible of what great importance this place was to the preserving of Dunkirk, detach'd a body of horse and foot to retake it. Among these were 2000 English and Irish, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious storms upon the fort, but were stoutly repuls'd, and forced to fly, with the loss of several brave commanders.

LUDLOW, speaking of this action, says, many of those who were kill'd on the enemy's side were English under the Duke of York: And as it was confess'd by all present, that the English who took part with the French, behaved themselves with more bravery than any; so it was observed, that those of the cavalier party, who had join'd with the Spaniards, behaved themselves worst.

The Marshal Turenne commanded the army that took Mardyke; to whom Cardinal Mazarine wrote thus, at Lockhart's instances

stances before the siege : Nothing can be of more fatal consequence to France, than the loss of Cromwell's friendship, and the breach of the union with him ; which certainly will be broken, if some strong town is not taken and put into his hands.

This conquest was very grateful to Cromwell, who immediately sent ten men of war to guard the port of Mardyke, and cruize on that coast. A foreign popish writer, speaking of this matter, says, ‘ In effect nothing could flatter the ambition of Cromwell more than this acquisition, knowing he had thereby won immortal glory : He had, without the loss of a man, accomplish'd a design, which the greatest Kings of England had often attempted in vain, at the expence of their people's blood and treasure.

He had re-established the English on the continent, and put them in a condition to make themselves masters of both sides of the channel, which had been despair'd of since the loss of Calais.’

Upon the French King’s entering into an agreement with the Lord Protector of England, King Charles with his family was obliged to leave France and retire to Cologne; where having resided about two years and half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with the Catholick, repair'd to

to the city of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handsome accommodation for himself and his small court.

About this time, among other methods he us'd in order to his restoration, Mr Echard tells us of a private application he made to Cromwell, which he says came from the mouth of the dutchess of Lauderdale, who told the same to a person, of whose credit he could make no question. The story is this: That this lady, afterwards Dutchesse of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance Cromwell's, was employ'd to make a private offer and proposal to him, in substance as follows, "That if he would restore, or permit the King to return to his throne, he would send him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and settle what power and riches he pleas'd upon himself, family, and friends." This proposal was first communicated to the Protector's Lady, who liked it very well, believing that besides other advantages, it would bring absolute indemnity and security to her husband, and the whole family.

She therefore took an opportunity, when she was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavour'd to persuade him to accept of it, as being of the highest moment to the happiness of himself and

lations. But he, without minding her arguments and persuasions, presently told her, She was a fool, adding this shrewd sentence, If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done against him and his family, he does not deserve to wear the crown of England.

The King keeping his court at Bruges in Flanders, had many consultations with the governor Don John, and was in great hopes the distractions in England might at length turn to his own advantage; which encouraged the Spaniards to protect his person, and accept his arms in Flanders; where the marques of Ormond, the lord Rochester, the lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the lord Taaffe, and general Middleton, had their several quartered along the sea coast under the command of the Dukes of York and Gloucester; both to assist his Catholic Majesty against his enemies the French, who were supported by Cromwell, and to be in a readiness to transport themselves into England, if any favourable opportunity should invite them.

And indeed, an insurrection of the King's friends was at this time design'd; to promote which, there was now published, and with great industry dispers'd, a very bold paper, entitled, Killing no Murder, making it not only lawful but honourable to kill

kill the Protector, as a tyrant and common enemy of his country.

This put his Highness into a terrible fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the author, who was then concealed, not only in his person, but in the very suspicion of his name, tho' since generally believed to be colonel Titus, who made a great figure in some of the parliaments after the King's restoration.

Some time after this alarm, which serv'd more to put the Protector upon his guard, than to forward the preparations of the royalists, the marquis of Ormond slipt over from Flanders, and lay privately in London, to quicken the design, intending also to send for his troops to push on the execution of it. But the Protector, who was always good at intelligence, had (as was before related) corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who seem'd to be at the head of the King's party, and pretended a great deal of zeal for his service, to discover all their most secret contrivances to him; and by his intelligence, he set out a proclamation against the conspirators before they could get into a body; by which means many of them were apprehended, the marquis of Ormond himself very narrowly escaping.

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The Protector now sent his writs of summons, under the great seal, to divers persons to sit as members of the Other House; the form of which writs was the same with that which was us'd to summon the Peers in parliament. The persons who were to compose the Other House were about sixty in number; among whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families of good estates, and some colonels and officers of the army.

The parliament thus improved by the addition of another house, met a second time on the 20th day of January; when the Protector came as a Sovereign to the house of Lords, and sending for the Speaker and house of Commons by the black rod, made a short speech to them, beginning in the old style, My Lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of Commons; and then discoursing some particulars which he recommended to them, thanking them for their good correspondence the last session, and assuring them, if they went on as they had begun, they should be called, The blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them; he left his lord keeper Fiennes to make a long speech to them, with all the state of our ancient Monarchs.

As several of the nobility, who had writs sent to them, refus'd to sit in the Other House, so Sir Arthur Haslerigg, and some few more of the commons declined that honour, and chose rather to sit in the lower house, for which they had been elected members by the people.

Many others also, who had been excluded by the Protector in the first session of this parliament, now ventured to take their seats, upon the third article of the Petition and Advice, by which no members legally chosen, were to be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house whereof they were members.

By this means, and the removal of those of the other house, who were, for the most part, taken out of this, a considerable alteration was made in this assembly; so that they soon began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house, and several of the members, particularly Sir Arthur Haslerigg, appear'd very forward in fomenting differences between these two bodies.

Upon this his Highness sent for the Commons to the Banqueting house, where he exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the Petition and Advice.

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But this having no effect upon them, they went on in the same way; many being against the members of the other house being called Lords, others intirely against the having such another house, and some speaking reproachfully of it.

These proceedings tended to their own destruction; for the Protector looking upon himself to be aimed at by them, and that these things were only the testimonies of their envy towards him and his government, began to think of putting a stop to all by dissolving the parliament.

Whilst he was revolving this in his mind, on the 4th of February, he received fresh information concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the Other House.

Whither being come, he imparted his resolution to dissolve the parliament to Lieutenant-general Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clap'd his hand upon his breast, and swore, by the living God he would do it. Then the usher of the black rod was sent to the Commons to acquaint them, that his Highness was in the Lords house, and there required

required their attendance. Hereupon they, with the speaker, went up, and his Highness made a speech to them, declaring several urgent and weighty reasons, which made it necessary for him, in order to the publick peace and safety, to proceed to an immediate dissolution of this Parliament; and accordingly he did dissolve them.

His Highness was the more incens'd, because at this time the fifth-monarchy men were forming a dangerous conspiracy to overthrow him and his government; which he suspected was countenanced by many of the parliament.

Major-general Harrison was deep in this plot, which was laid for an insurrection to dethrone the Protector.

Their chief cabal was held in a house near Shoreditch, where secretary Thurloe, who spared no pains or money for his master's safety, had a spy among them, and suffered them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he sent a party of soldiers, who seiz'd the chief of them as they were consulting about the manner of putting their design in execution.

Their arms and ammunition were likewise seiz'd, with a standard of a Lion couchant, as of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, Who shall rouse him up? and

several copies of a printed declaration, with this title, *The principle of the Remnant*. The conspirators apprehended were Verner, Gray, Gowler, Hopkins, Ashton, and others, who were carried prisoners to the Gatehouse, where they lay long in a miserable condition, but were spared to create disturbance and their own destruction at another time, viz. soon after the King's restoration.

Shortly after, as Ludlow informs us, some persons who us'd to meet in Coleman-street, to deplore the apostasy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were apprehended by the lord mayor's officers, pursuant to the Protector's orders, as they were coming out of their meeting-place.

Among these was one cornet Day, who being accus'd of saying, That the Protector was a rogue and a traitor, confess'd the words ; and to justify himself said, that Cromwell had affirmed in the presence of himself and several other officers, That if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time (now past) they should then have liberty to say, he was a rogue and a traitor.

He desired leave therefore to produce his witnessess, who were then present, to what
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he had asserted. But the business was so managed, that he and some others were fined and imprisoned for their misdemeanours.

The Cavalier plot was mentioned before; And of this also he had timely informations given him; upon which he sent for the lord mayor, aldermen and common-council of the city of London, and acquainted them with it, and desired their care to put the city into a posture of defence. They accordingly went back with great indignation against the Royalists, and took extraordinary care of their gates and guards, and withal drew up an humble address to his Highness, promising the faith of the city, and the purse of it, in firmly adhering to him against all his enemies.

Addresses also of the same strain were made from general Monk's and other regiments, and from the English forces in Flanders; all which his Highness answered with thanks.

He now thought it time to proceed against the conspirators themselves, whom he had safely lodged in prison.

For this purpose a high court of justice was erected, being founded on a law made by the late parliament for the security of his Highness's person. Whitelock was one of the commissioners, but he tells us he ne-

Ver sat with them, it being against his judgment.

Before this court were brought Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with some others of the meaner sort.

The general charge against them was, ‘For endeavouring to levy war against the government on behalf of Charles Stuart.’

The particular charge against Dr. Hewet was, ‘For dispersing commissions from the son of the late King, and persuading divers to raise forces by virtue of the same.’

That against Sir Henry Slingsby was, ‘For attempting to debauch some of the garrison of Hull to the service of Charles Stuart and delivering a commission from him to them.’ And the prisoners of less note were charged, ‘With a design of firing the city in several parts, at the time appointed for the insurrection.’ Dr. Hewet deny’d the jurisdiction of the court, and argued against the legality of it; and so for contempt, after having been three times required to plead, he was adjudged guilty of the charge; and when he afterwards offer’d to plead, he was told it was too late. Sir Henry Slingsby pleaded that he was a prisoner at the time when he was charged to have practis’d against the government, and that the persons whom he was accused

of attempting to corrupt, had trepanned him by their promises to serve the King in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commission to act for him; which commission was an old one that had lain long by him.

But all this availing him nothing, he was, together with Dr. Hewet, adjudged to die; and accordingly they were both beheaded on Tower Hill, notwithstanding all endeavours that were us'd for procuring their pardon.

Six of the meaner sort were condemn'd to be hang'd, but only three suff'red; one in Tower-street, another in Cheapside, and the third before the Exchange.

As for Mr. Mordaunt, he pleaded not guilty, and after a full hearing of the witnesses on both fides, the court rcquitted him by one voice;

When these trials were over, the High court of Justice was dissolved, and the Protector, by Whitelock's advice, referr'd all future trials of conspirators, to the Upper Bench, in the course of common law. He not only made Howard a viscount, but sign'd a patent to make Whitelock one, and three other patents to make the attorney general, Prideaux, and the solicitor-general, baronets and John Maynard, Esq; his highness's serjeant.

In the beginning of this year, a party of the garrison of Ostend, with the privity of the governour, held intelligence with cardinal Mazarine, and then with the Protector Cromwell, to betray that town into the hands of the French, wherein the Lord Protector was to have his share.

Mazarine was to send a land army under the command of marthal d'Aumont, and the Protector was to furnish a fleet for transporting the men.

Articles having been agreed on between the supposed conspirators and the Cardinal, on May 14th, the appointed day, the English fleet appeared before Ostend, and the garrison permitted the French to pass and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate possession of the place.

But the subtle governor, having suffered the fleet to come to a proper distance, on a sudden pull'd down the white flag that had invited them in, and set up a bloody flag : And before the vessels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he sorely gall'd them by the cannon from the forts ; and the French that landed were all, to the number of 1500, or taken prisoners, among which last was the marshal d'Aumont himself.

Presently after this great disappointment, it was resolved to attempt the taking of Dunkirk;

Dunkirk ; which was accordingly invested by the French, assisted by 6000 valiant Englishmen, under the inspection of Lockhart, the Protector's ambassador, but more immediately under the command of major-general Morgan.

Whilst they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the French under marshal Turenne on the side of Newport, and Morgan with his English and a brigade of French horse, on that next Mardyke, they had intelligence brought them, that the Spanish general, Don John of Austria, with the Prince of Conde, the Prince de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, were advancing with 30,000 men to relieve the place.

Hereupon the French King and Cardinal were persuaded by Turenne and others to withdraw their persons, and retire to Calais, and leave all to be determined by a council of war.

In the first council, which was held without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was resolved to raise the siege, if the enemy came on.

But in the next, when those two were present, Morgan vehemently opposed that resolution, alledging, ' What a dishonour it would be to the crown of France, to have summoned a place, and broke ground before

before it, and then raise the siege and run away ; and desiring the council to consider, That if they raised the siege, the alliance with England would be broken the same hour.

Upon which it was resolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the siege.

And the enemy coming on, a desperate fight ensued, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the English, before the French came in.

At the end of the pursuit, marshal Turenne, with above a hundred officers, came up to the English, alighted from their horses, and embracing the officers, said, ‘ They never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing.’

The Spanish army being entirely vanquished, the confederates renew’d their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigour and industry ; and the marquis de Leda the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was sallying out upon the besiegers, the Spaniards within delir’d a present capitulation ; which being granted, this important place was surrender’d upon articles, on the 25th of June ; when

it was immediately delivered'd up into the hands of the English by the French King and Cardinal in person, pursuant to the treaty betwixt them and his Highness the lord protector.

And here I cannot omit the following story in relation to this affair, in which both the perfidiousness of the French court, and the policy and power of the English Lord Protector are very remarkably seen. It is thus related by Dr. Welwood. When the French army being join'd with the English auxiliaries, was on its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning for the French ambassador to White-hall, and upbraided him publickly for his master's deligh'ted breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the French general to keep posession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between 'em. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of.

Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, Here (says he) is a copy of the Cardinal's order: And I'd fise you to dispatch immediately an exprefs, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Donkirk to Lockhart No. 61.

an hour after it shall be taken, I'll come in person and demand them at the gates of Paris.

The message had its effect ; for Dunkirk was put into the possession of the English : And to palliate the matter (continues Welwood) the duke and marshal of Crecquy was dispatch'd into England, ambassador extraordinary, to compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and splendid train of persons of quality ; among whom was a prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the highest expressions of respect.

But as all worldly glory and prosperity must have an end, so our Protector's greatness, which expired only with his life, now drew near to a period.

Bishop Burnet says, it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held things together.

However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly afflicted with the loss of some of his family and friends, a little before his death.

He seemed to be much troubled for the death of his friend, the old earl of Warwick, with whom he had a fast friendship,

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tho' neither their humours nor their natures were very much alike; and the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, and confidence in that family, was as at an end.

But that which chiefly disturbed his peace, was the death of his best beloved daughter, the lady Elizabeth Cleypole, who is said to have earnestly interceded for Dr. Hewet's life, and yet in that only instance had a denial from her fond father.

She died at Hampton-Court on the 6th of August, and her body being carried by water to Westminster, after lying in state in the painted chamber, was solemnly interr'd in Henry the VIIth's chapel.

About a week after her death, the Protector, who had been ill about a fortnight before, grew considerably worse at Hampton Court, whither he had retired with his council.

His disease at first was a kind of tertian ague, which for some time eontinued under several appearances, with symptoms so favourable, that every other day he walked abroad in the palace garden.

But now he began to be more confin'd; and the end of August took his bed, and made a will relating to his private and domestick concerns.

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His fits still growing stronger, and his spirits weaker, he was remoyd from Hampton-Court to Whitehall (tho' Whitelock says he died at Hampton Court.) Here he soon appeared to be delirious, and his physicians began to think him in real danger; tho' his chaplains seem'd to assure themselves of his recovery: insomuch that Dr. Thomas Goodwin, in his prayer to God for him, is said to have expressed himself thus, That they asked not for his life; for they were assured he had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things then of great moment to be dispatched.

His sickness still increasing, so that he seem'd to be drawing near his end, those of his council being alarmed, came to put him in mind to nominate his successor, according to the humble petition and advice.

But he being now almost in a letharty, and not answering to the purpose, they ask'd again, whether it w^s his will that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the Protectorship; to which 'twas said he answered, Yes.

Ludlow says, the commissioners of the great seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed his successor;

eessor; but whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discompos'd in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or lastly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is uncertain: but it is, that the commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the symptons of death were apparent upon him.

Others give this account of the Protector's last sickness, and the business of a successor: That after Cromwell had been some time ill, a malignant humour broke out in his foot, which hindering him from the exercise of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they attempting to do, drove it upwards to his heart; by which means he became desperately sick, and in the beginning of September the symptons of death appeared upon him; and asking one of his physicians, What he thought of his case? The doctor answer'd, My lord, there is no more oil in that lamp which has given so much light to both church and state.

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The dying Protector replied with a magnanimity worthy of him, When do you think it will go out? The physician told him, In two days at farthest.

Upon which Cromwell said, It is time then to settle my mind, and provide for the safety of the state.

Accordingly he sent for his council, and recommended to them the choice of a successor, tho' by the humble petition and advice he might nominate one himself, which it was expected he woud have done.

The author of the history of England, during the reigns of the royal house of Stuart, says, lieutenant general Fleetwood did, without doubt, expect to have been declared successor to Cromwell, and without doubt had been so promis'd by his father in law; and he farther says, his manuscript author, who had his memoirs from the earl of Orrery (the famous lord Broghill in Cromwell's time) affirms Oliver made Fleetwood his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away and burnt it, before Fleetwood could see at it: And a few minutes before Cromwell's death, when he was ask'd, Who should succeed him, he reply'd, In such a drawer of the cabinet, in my closet you will find it.

Fleetwood

Fleetwood found himself trick'd, and the whole council against him; so he fell in with them, waiting an opportunity to right or revenge himself.

However this was, on the third of September (his beloved and victorious day, on which he had triumph'd for two of his greatest victories, at Dunbar and Worcester) about three in the afternoon, the Protector expired; on which day, or as some say, the day before, there happened the most violent storm of wind that ever had been known; which I have not so strong a fancy as to imagine, with a certain author, was any thing preternatural; any more than I can believe colonel Lindsey as to the day of the Protector's death, which is founded upon the story of his making league with the devil; a story, which, by the very silliness of the relation, sufficiently confutes itself.

Thus the famous Oliver Cromwell, after so many toils and fatigues, and so many plots and conspiracies against his life, at last died quietly in his bed. He expired in the fiftieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the dissolution of the long parliament four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declared Protector by the instrument of government, and but one year three months

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and nine days, after his being confirmed in that office by the humble petition and advice.

Thus having given a faithful account of the actions of this great man, I might leave every one to judge of his character from thence.

However, it may not be amiss to take a short view of it.

As to his person, he had a manly stern look, and was of an active healthful constitution, able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he made no great figure, there seemed to be nothing extraordinary in him, he discovered none of those talents wh ch use to gain applause, and work upon the affections of the hearers and standers by ; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seem'd to be rais'd, as if he had faculties that lay concealed, till he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

His conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reserved and grave.

He affected, for the most part, a plainness in his clothes ; but in them, as well

as in his guards and attendance, he appear'd with magnificence upon publick occasions.

He was very temperate; sparing in his diet, and tho' sometimes he would drink freely, yet never to excess: He was moderate in all other pleasures, and after his first reformation; free from all visible immorality, and seemed to be a great enemy to vice; and a lover of virtue, always taking care to suppress the former, and encourage the latter.

He writ a tolerable good hand; and a style becoming a gentleman, except when he used to cant, which, whether it was affected or sincere, I leave others to judge.

His speeches were for the most part ambiguous. especially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning, tho' at other times he sufficiently shewed he could command his style according as there was occasion, and would deliver himself with such a force and strength of opposition, that 'twas commonly said, That every word he spake was a thing,

He loved men of wit, and was a great admittit of musick, entertaining the most skilful in that science in his pay and family.

He respected all persons that excelled in any art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him.

He was very well read in the Greek and Roman story ; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing these nations, he studied men more than books, so that his turn was serv'd in all offices.

No man was ever better served, nor took more pains to be so : No man more cunningly div'd into the manners of men, and into the tempers of those whom he had any thing to do with, nor sooner discover'd their talents. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, tho' ever so obscure, he sent for him, and employed him ; suiting the employment to the person, and not the person to the employment ; and upon this maxim in his government depended, in a great measure, his success.

He had undoubtedly a wonderful knowledge of men, and by his great penetration could soon discover their abilities and qualifications.

All allow he was an extraordinary genius, and master of the most refined policy ; that he had a great spirit, a wonderful circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous acsolution. His courage and conduct

in field were undoubtedly admirable ; greatness of soul, which the greatest

ent dangers and difficulties rather animated than discouraged ; and his discipline and go-
vernment of the army was in all respects such as might become the most renowned and accomplish'd general.

Tho' he was brave in his person, yet he was wary in his Conduct ; for from the time he was first declared Protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was very cautious and reserved whenever there was occasion, and in matters of greatest moment trusted none but his secretary Thurloe, and oftentimes not him ; an instance of which the secretary us'd to tell of himself : That he was once commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Gray's Inn, and at such a place deliver a Bill of 20000 l. payable to the bearer at Genoa, to a man he should find walking in such a habit and posture as he described him without speaking a word.

Thurloe did as he was order'd ; and never knew to his dying day, either the person or the occasion. At another time the Pro-
tector came late at night to Thurloe's office, to give him directions about something of great importance and secrecy ; which hav-
ing done, he observ'd, that Mr. Moreland, one of the clerks, was in the room, seeming to be asleep upon his desk ; but suspecting that he might not really be so, and that he

might

might have overheard their discourse, he presently drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and would have dispatched him upon the spot, if Thurloe had not earnestly intreated him to desist, and assured him that Moreland having sat up two nights together, was now certainly fast asleep.

No prince seemed to be master of so much and so particular intelligence as Cromwell; of which I have given some remarkable instances in the foregoing history, and shall here add one more, as wonderful as any of the rest: A gentleman who had serv'd the late King, desir'd leave of the protector to travel, and obtain'd it, on condition he should not see Charles Stuart. Accordingly arriving at Cologn, he sent to desire of the king that he might wait on him by night, which was agreed to. And when he had fully discours'd of the business he came about he took leave, having received a letter wh ch he sew'd within his crown of his hat. Upon his return to England, he came with confidence to the protector; and being ask'd by him, If he had punctually perform'd his promise? he answer'd, that he had: But said his highness, Who was it that put out the candles when you spoke to Charles Stuart? The gentleman was startled at this unexpected question; and the protector farther demanding,

demanding, What he said to him, he answer'd, Nothing at all, Did he not send a letter by you then? said Cromwell; and the gentleman denying that also, Cromwell took his hat, and having found the letter, sent him immediately to the tower.

His maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratify'd the temper which is very natural to Englishmen.

The regard he had to the commerce of the nation, his care to protect it from foreign insults, and speedy method of obtaining satisfaction and reparation for injur'd merchants, appears by the following remarkable instance: An English merchant-ship was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into St: Maloes, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship got home, he presented a petition to the protector in council, setting forth his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, the protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himself, and order'd the man to attend him next morning. He examin'd him strictly as to all the circumstances of his case, and finding, by his answers, that he was a plain, honest man, and that he had been concern'd in no unlawful trade, he ask'd him, if he could go to Paris with a letter? The man answer'd he could. Well then,

then, says the Protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning.

He accordingly went, and Cromwell gave him a letter to Cardinal Mazorine, and told him he must stay but three days for an answer. The answer I mean, says he, is the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargo; and tell the Cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have express orders from me to return home. The man did as he was directed, and upon the Cardinal's shuffling with him, return'd as he was order'd. As soon as the Protector saw him, he ask'd him if he had got his money? And upon his answering, he had not, the Protector said to him, then leave your direction with my secretary, and you shall soon hear from me.

Tho' there was a French minister residing here, Cromwell did not so much as acquaint him with the affair, but immediately sent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to seize every French ship they could meet with. Accordingly they return'd in a few days with two or three French prizes, which the protector order'd to be immediately sold, and out of the produce, he paid the merchant what he demanded for his ship and cargo. Then he sent

sent for the French minister, gave him an account of what had happen'd, and told him there was a balance, which, it he pleas'd, should be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to those of his countrymen, who were the owners of the French ships, that had been so taken and sold.

Few princes ever bore their character higher upon all occasions than our protector, especially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And 'tis a thing without example that's related by one of the best inform'd historians of the age, namely Puffendorf, in his Life of the Elector of Brandenburg. That in Cromwell's league with France against Spain, he would not allow the French king to call himself king of France, but king of the French; whereas he took to himself not only the title of protector of England, but likewise of France: And which is yet more surprizing, in the instrument of the treaty, the protector's name was put before the French king's.

Cromwell's influence was so great in France, that cardinal Mazarine durst not deny him any thing; which he took very hard, and complained of to those he could be free with. 'Twas said, that the cardinal would change countenance, when he heard Cromwell nam'd; so that it pass'd into a proverb in France, That he was

not

not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell.

Spain dreaded him, and courted his friendship as much as France, tho' the lat er prevail'd. When the Spanish ambassador was inform'd, that the fleet under Penn and Venables was gone towardsthe West-Indies and that the storm was likely to fall upon some of his master's territories, he applied himself to the protector, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master; if so, he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. The protector demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the Inquisition: To which the ambassador reply'd, I hat his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.

The states of Holland so dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: And when at any time the king or his brothers came to see their sister, the princess of Orange, within a day or two they us'd to send a deputation to acquaint them, that Cromwell had oblig'd them to give them no harbour.

When king Charles was seeking for a pretext for a war with the Dutch, in 1672, he made this one. That they suffer'd some of his rebellious subjects to live in their country.

country. Borel their ambassador answer'd, That it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their dominions, but to entertain them all, unless they had been guilty of conspiring against the persons of princes. The king thereupon telling him how they had used him and his brothers, the ambassador with much simplicity answer'd, Alas, sir; that was another thing: Cromwell was a great man, and made himself be fear'd both by land and sea. To which the king reply'd, I'll make my self be fear'd too in my turn. But as is observ'd, he was scarce as good as his word.

Even the Turks stood in awe of Cromwell, and durst not offend him. And all Italy trembled at his name; and seem'd under a pannick fear as long as he liv'd.

When admiral Blake sail'd into the Mediterranean, the city of Rome, and all the Pope's territories were greatly alarm'd; and the terror of the people were such, that publick processions were made, and the host was exposed forty hours, to avert the wrath of heaven, and prevent Blake's attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that Cromwell used to say, That his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and the sound of his

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cannon should be heard in Rome. But in
the midst of his power and grandeur, death
put an end to all his high projects and da-
ring designs.

I shall now finish this work with a parti-
cular account of the magnificent funeral of
this great man. The corps, at least in ap-
pearance, was on the 26th of Sept. at night,
privately remov'd from Whitehall in a
mourning herse, attended by his domestick
servants, to Somerset-house. A few days
after, his effigy was, with great state and
magnificence, expos'd openly, multitudes
daily flocking to see the sight, which ap-
pear'd in this order. The first room was
wholly hung with black; at the upper end
of which, was placed a cloth and chair of
state. In like manner were the second and
third rooms, all having scutcheons very
thick upon the walls, and guards of parti-
zans for people to pass thro'. The fourth
room was completely hung with black vel-
vet, the cieling being also covered with the
same. Here lay the effigy under a noble
canopy of black velvet, apparell'd in the
most magnificent robes, lac'd with gold,
and furr'd with ermines, with a scepter in
one hand, and a globe in the other, and a
sword hanging by its side, and a rich cap
on the head, suitable to the robes. Behind
the head was placed a chair and cushion of
tissu'd

tissu'd gold, in which lay an imperial crown beset with diamonds and other precious stones. The bed of state on which the effigy lay, was cover'd with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, born up by six stools cover'd with cloth of gold. The bed was inclos'd with rails and balusters, and, besides solemn mourners, surrounded with banners, banrois, and all kinds of trophies of military honours. Within the rails stood eight silver candlesticks about five foot high, with white wax tapers standing in them, of three foot long. At each corner of the rails was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, holding in their paws streamers crowned. The effigy having for some weeks continued in this posture, on the first of November was removed into the great hall, where with new ornaments and ceremony it was plac'd, standing upon an ascent under a cloth of state, with the imperial crown upon the head. Four or five hundred candles sat in flat shining candlesticks, were so plac'd round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seem'd like the rays of the sun; by all which his late highness was represented as now in a state of glory.

Having remain'd thus till the 23d of Nov. the waxen effigy of the protector, with

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the crown on his head, sword by his side, globe and scepter in his hands, was placed in a stately open chariot, cover'd all over with black velvet, and drawn by six horses covered with the same, both chariot and horses, being adorned with plumes and other ornaments. The streets from Somerset-house to Westminster Abbey, were guarded on both sides of the way by soldiers in new red coats and black buttons with their ensigns wrapp'd in cypress: All the great officers of state, and the lord mayor and court of aldermen of London, moving in solemn procession to the Abbey church; where it was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, and carried through the church under a canopy of state up to the east end, where it was plac'd in a magnificent structure built for that purpose, to remain for a certain time expos'd to publick view.

After all, as the author of the Compleat History of England observes in his notes, it remains a question, where his body was really buried: It was, says he, in appearance, in Westminster Abbey; some report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames; but 'tis most probable that 'twas buried in Naseby Field.

This account, is averr'd, by Mr. Barkstead, son to Barkstead the regicide, who was about 15 years old at the time of Cromwell's

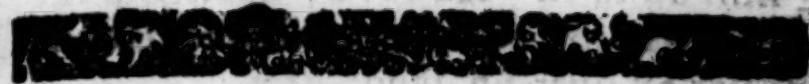
well's death: "That the said Barkstead's father, being Lieutenant of the tower, and a great confident of Cromwell's, did, among other such confidents, in the time of his illness, desire to know where he woul'd be buried: To which the protector answered, Where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guess'd where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby, Com^r Northampton. And accordingly the body was interred in a grave nine foot deep, Mr. Barkstead himself attending, by order of his father, when the grave was filled up: Soon after care was taken that the field should be entirely plough'd up, and it was sown three or four years successively with corn."

It is, I think, pretty certain, that Oliver's corpse was not really interred in Westminster-Abby; and consequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hang'd at Tyburn for his: But whether this account of its being buried in Naseby field, or the other of its being sunk in the Thames, is most probable, I cannot say. What is said for the former, we have seen; and the other was related by a gentlewoman who attended Oliver in his last sickness, as we are told by the author of the History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart. She told him

him, that the day after the protector's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse; when it was concluded, that considering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy; if ever it should be in their power; to prevent which, it was resolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and sink it in the deepest part of the Thames; which was undertaken and performed by two of his nearest relations, and some trusty soldiers, the following night.



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APPENDIX,

CONTAINING:

Some Account of the PROTECTOR's
CHILDREN, and the State of Affairs till
the KING R's RESTORATION.

HE protector had three sons; Oliver, Richard and Henry. Oliver died young. Richard married Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Major, Esq; of Hursley in Hampshire; where he lived a private life during the greatest part of his father's government; but towards the latter end of it he was sent for by him to come to court, and made one of his privy council, and soon after was chosen by the university of Oxford to be their chancellor, with which honour he was very solemnly install'd at Whitehall. He was said to be nominated by his father for his successor, tho' the truth of it was very much questioned; and 'twas thought he never design'd him for it, having scarce made any step towards training

ing him up to it. However, upon his father's death, he was solemnly proclaim'd protector all over England, &c.

Richard was congratulated hereupon by addresses from all parts of the three kingdoms, declaring their resolutions to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themselves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undermine him, and restore their beloved commonwealth, he found himself necessitated to call a parliament.

A parliament was accordingly summon'd, which Richard met on the 27th of January, with the same state that the English monarchs and his father had done before him. They had not sat long before great differences and contentions arose between them and the army; so that the officers being informed that some votes were pass'd in opposition to their designs, immediately sent Fleetwood and Desborough to the protector, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood alledg'd, That if this were not presently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood. Desborough, who was of a rougher temper, told him, 'Twas impossible for him to keep both parliament and army his friends; and desired him to chuse which he would prefer:

fer: If he dissolved the parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refus'd that, he believ'd the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. On the other hand, many members assur'd him, that the parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some officers of the army likewise, as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Gough, and Howard, offer'd to stand by him, against those who were called the General Council of the army; and Howard in particular earnestly press'd him to exert himself by some vigorous action, such as supported his father's authority to the last: You are Cromwell's son, said he, shew yourself worthy of that name. This business requires a bold stroke, supported by a good hand; do not suffer yourself to be daunted, and my head shall answer for the consequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Vane, are the contrivers of this; I will rid you of them; do but stand by me, and second my zeal with your name. Richard answered, That he did not love blood; and being a man of an irresolute temper, was at last prevail'd on by the opposite party to dissolve the parliament.

Having got rid of the parliament, the council of officers were for laying Richard aside too; and so they restor'd the remnant

of the Long Parliament, which Oliver had ejected, to their seats again ; and Richard, after a reign of about seven months and twenty days, returned to his former private life.

The long parliament having sat about 5 months, were again put down by the ambitious Lambert ; and about three months after were again restor'd, by means of the soldiers revolting from their leaders, and declaring for the parliament, and the interposition of the brave General MONK, who now march'd out of Scotland, and finding the spirit of the people generally run that way, restored the secluded members also to their seats again. This made such an alteration in this assembly, that they soon dissolv'd themselves, having order'd a new parliament to be summon'd ; which parliament meeting on April 25, 1660, in about a month's time brought in the KING.

The lord Clarendon tells the following story of Richard Cromwell : That soon at the king's restoration, he found himself under a necessity of retiring into France ; and having continu'd some years in obscurity at Paris, upon the first rumour of a war likely to break out between England and France, he thought fit to leave that kingdom, and retire to Geneva. Taking his journey thence,

ther by Bourdeaux, and thro' the province of Languedoc, he went thro' Pezenas, a town belonging to the prince of Conti, then governour of Languedoc, who made his residence there. Staying some time in this place, he happen'd to meet with an old acquaintance of his father's, and his party; who told him, That the prince of Conti expected all strangers who came to that town to wait on him, and that he treated all, particularly the English, with great civility; that he need not be known, but that himself wou'd inform the prince, that another English gentleman was passing thro' the town, who would be glad to have the honour of kissing his hand. The prince, as his manner was, receiv'd him very civilly; and began to discourse with him about the English affairs, asking several questions about the king, and whether all quietly submitted to his government; and in the end said, Well, that Oliver, tho' he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave man, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb and poltron, was surely the basest fellow alive; what is become of that fool? How was it possible he could be such a sot? He answer'd, That he was betray'd by those he most trusted, and who had been most oblig'd by his father; and so having no great

great pleasure of his visit, soon took his leave, and the next morning left the town, and about two days after, the prince came to know that it was Richard himself, whom he had talk'd to after that manner; Richard, some years before the death of King Charles II. returned to England; and having lived to a great age, as a remarkable example of the security of innocence; and the instability of human greatness, he dy'd at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, in the year 1712.

Oliver's third son, Henry, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Russell of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, and was by his father made lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The Protector had four daughters, Bridget, Elizabeth, Mary and Frances. Bridget was married first to Henry Ireton, whom Cromwell left his deputy in Ireland; and he dying, she was afterwards married to Lieutenant-general Fleetwood. Elizabeth was married to Mr. John Cleypole, and dy'd a little before her father. Mary, his third daughter, was married to Thomas lord viscount Fauconberg, afterwards created earl by king William. Frances, the youngest daughter, was married first to Mr. Robert Rich, grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick; and afterwards to Sir John Russell

Russel of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire; 'Tis of her that the following story is told, by the author of the History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart:

That Mr. Jeremy White, one of Oliver's domestick chaplains, a sprightly man, and a top wit of his court, made his addresses to the said lady Frances, who did not much disencourage him. But Cromwell being told of it, obliged the person who told him to be upon the watch; who hunting Jerry White, as he was commonly called, to the lady's chamber, ran immediately to tell the protector of it. Oliver in a rage hastening thither, found Jerry on his knees kissing the lady's hand, or having just kiss'd it; and ask'd him what was the meaning of that posture before his daughter Frank? White, with much presence of mind, said, " May it please your highness, I have a long time courted that young gentleman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me." The protector turning to the young woman, said, What's the meaning of this, hussy? Why do you refuse the honour Mr. White would do you? He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such. My lady's woman desiring no more, answered, If Mr. White intends

intends me that honour, I shall not be against him. Say'st thou so, reply'd Cromwell, call Goodwin; this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room. Jerry being gone too far to go back, they were married, and the protector gave the young woman 500 l. for her portion; which with what she had sav'd before, made Mr. White easy in his circumstances, but in one one thing, which was, that he never loved his wife, nor she him, tho' they liv'd together near 50 years after.

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